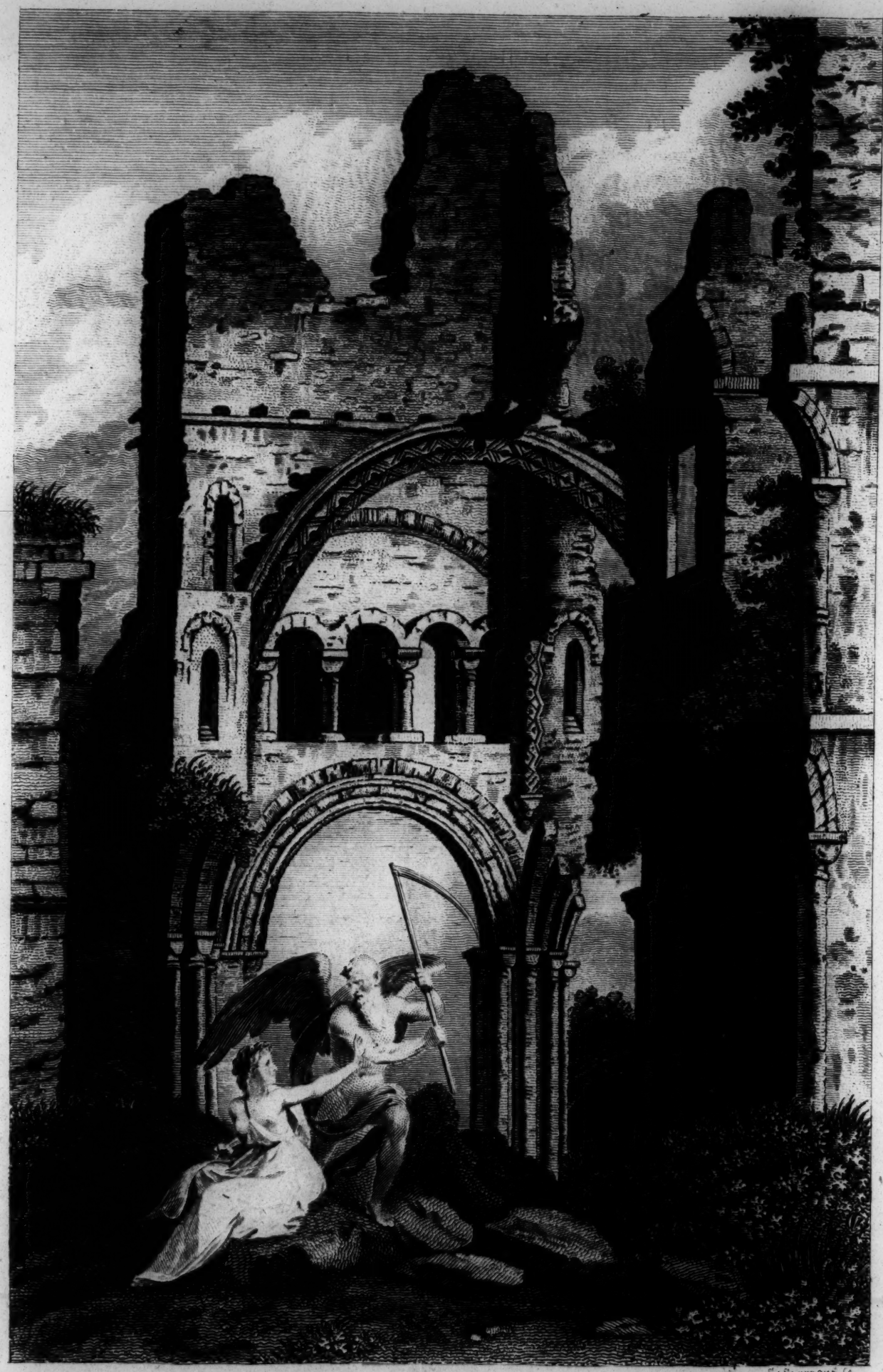


J. Sparrow sc.

HISTORY PRESERVING THE MONUMENTS OF ANTIQUITY.

The side View of Lindisfarne, or Holy Island Monastery, Northumberland.

Pub. 25 May 1789 by S. Hooper.

THE

Antiquities

OF

ENGLAND

AND

Wales

By FRANCIS GROSE, Esq. F. A. S.

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INTRODUCTION.

As in the course of the ensuing work many terms and allusions may occur, unintelligible to persons who have not made the antiquities of this country their immediate study; and who would, for information, be obliged to turn over a variety of books; to these a general history of ancient castles, explaining the terms relative to their construction, garrisons and privileges, with the machines used for their attack and defence, will be useful, if not necessary: the same may be said on the subject of abbies and other monastic foundations.

Illustrative accounts of both are therefore here given, compiled from the best authorities; and as most of these buildings are either of the Saxon architecture, or of that stile commonly called Gothic, some characteristic marks and principles of the first are pointed out, and an investigation of the origin of the latter attempted. Domesday-book being quoted in several descriptions, some particulars of that ancient record, with a specimen of the hands in which it is written, will, it is hoped not improperly, be inserted.

The author begs to have it understood, that he does not herein pretend to inform the veteran antiquary; but has drawn up these accounts solely for the use of such as are desirous of having, without much trouble, a general knowledge of the subjects treated of in this publication; which they will find collected into as small a compass as any tolerable degree of perspicuity would permit. In order to render every article as clear as possible, the verbal descriptions, where capable, are illustrated by drawings.

To complete this introduction to the study of our national antiquities, a short description of the different species of fonts, druidical, and sepulchral monuments is added to this edition.

THE

CONTENTS.

OF CASTLES.

Page.

The antiquity of caſtles in this country, in the times of the Saxons, Romans and Britons - - - - - - - 1

Reaſons for building ſo many caſtles after the Norman Conqueſt - 2

Caſtles became the heads of baronies—fairs and markets eſtabliſhed there ib.

Eccleſiaſtic poſſeſſors of caſtles - - - - 3

Reaſons for demoliſhing many of the caſtles; and expreſs prohibitions from erecting new ones, without the King's ſpecial licence: with the form of a Licentia Kernellare - - - - 3, 4

Acts of parliament in the reigns of Henry III. and Edward I. directing the purveyance for caſtles, and alſo the conduct of the governors and conſtables - - - - - 4

Of royal caſtles - - - - - 5

Government of caſtles under the Saxons - - - ib.

Biſhops and abbots made liable to the duties of knights' ſervice - ib.

Caſtle-guard tenure, commuted afterwards for an annual rent called ward-penny, and wayt-fee, and commonly called caſtle-guard rent: this, with knights' ſervice, was annihilated finally in the reign of Charles II. 5, 6

Caſtles in the feudal times committed to the care of perſons ſtyled governors, and conſtables, ſometimes to the ſheriff of a county, with directions for their conduct - - - - 6

The materials for building caſtles, and the manner of conſtructing them; with the reaſons given for miſtaking many of the Norman for Roman and Saxon edifices - - - - - 7, 8

The names and uſes of the different works of ancient fortifications - 8 to 12

The method of attack and defence of fortified places, practiſed by our anceſtors before, and even after the invention of gunpowder from 14 to 28

The armour and weapons of the heavy cavalry, knights or men at arms, holding their lands by military ſervice; and alſo a kind of dragoons called Hobelers, which were generally compoſed of archers, or croſs-bow men; alſo the foot archers, and other infantry - from 29 to 32

Feudal troops, ſerved by their tenures. In caſe of invaſion or inſurrection, every man, as well eccleſiaſtic as layman, between the ages of 16 and 60, called forth to arms - - - - 32, 33

Ancient code of military laws - - - from 33 to 51

CONTENTS.

MONASTERIES.

Pages

The antiquity and firſt probability of monaſteries and nunneries in this country - - - - - 53, 54

Moſt of the monaſteries and churches, which had been founded on the converſion of the Saxons and Northumbrians were deſtroyed by the Danes; and none rebuilt for near two hundred years afterwards - - 53, 54

Monaſtic foundations reſtored, with rules given them for their government, under King Edgar, by St. Dunſtan, then in the ſee of Canterbury 56, 57

A view of the ſufferings of the monks and nuns at the Conqueſt—making the ſecular clergy biſhops of the churches, of cathedral convents—the clergy had the tenure of their lands altered - - 57, 58

Anno 1075, the monks were regulated the third and laſt time under Archbiſhop Lanfranc:—during this reign the Cluniacs were brought into England - - - - 58

The monks were greatly oppreſſed in the reign of William Rufus; notwithſtanding many houſes of different orders were founded under the influence of Archbiſhop Lanfranc - - - 58, 59

Under that pious prince Henry I, were founded many monaſteries, beſides five new orders, viz. knights hoſpitallers, Auguſtine canons, Ciſtercians, canons of the holy ſepulchre, and the monks of Grandmont 59

Notwithſtanding the troubles during the reign of King Stephen, many religious houſes were founded: in the beginning of his reign knights templars were introduced into England; alſo the Premoſtratenſians in 1146 - - - - 60

Henry II. after the death of Thomas Becket, founded many monaſteries; he introduced the Carthuſians into this country - - ib.

King Richard I. (notwithſtanding the vaſt expences of the Cruſades) though he is not known to have made any religious foundations himſelf, ſuffered many to be eſtabliſhed in this country - - 61

A continuation of ſeveral orders founded in the reign of King John, though no profeſſed friend to eccleſiaſtics - - - ib.

Owing to the immenſe riches of the eccleſiaſtics, the ſtatute of mortmain was made in the ninth year of Henry III. to reſtrain ſuperſtitious prodigality: in the beginning of this reign, the friars, preachers, and friars-minors came into England, and by their pretended ſeverities in life, they were very deſtructive to the pariſh prieſts and regulars - 63

Additional acts were now made to the ſtatute of mortmain in the reign of Edward I. owing to the artful conduct and accumulating riches of the monks - - - - - - 63, 64

Several

CONTENTS.

Page.

Several monaſteries were founded in the reign of Edward II. and in 1312, the knights-templars were ſeized, their order diſſolved, and their goods confiſcated; with the reaſons for ſuch conduct towards them - 64

King Edward III. founded and liberally endowed ſeveral religious houſes, and many from the revenues ſeized on, for not having licence of mort-main - - - - - - 65

The mendicant friars loſt their reputation in the reign of Richard II. when the doctrines of Wickliffe began to prevail. Biſhop Wickham founded the two colleges of Oxford and Wincheſter in this reign - - 65, 66

The lack-learning parliament at Coventry, anno 1404, laid a bill before Henry IV. to deprive the clergy of their temporal poſſeſſions to defray the expences of war; this was overturned by Archbiſhop Lanfranc:—and, in 1410, the commons a ſecond time exhibited a bill againſt the biſhops, abbots and friars, ſetting forth the great advantages by ſeizing on their eſtates - - - - - 67

In the ſucceeding reign of Henry V. another unſucceſsful attempt was made againſt the church revenues; but Archbiſhop Chichely artfully diverted this ſtorm by adviſing Henry to aſſert his title to the crown of France, promiſing a very great benevolence from the clergy on this account ib.

Several colleges at Oxford and Cambridge were founded, and alſo Eaton in Buckinghamſhire in the reign of Henry VI. - - 68

Continuation of colleges founded in the reigns of Edw. IV. and Hen. VII. ib.

Henry VIII. founded two colleges at Oxford, and one at Cambridge, before the diſſolution - - - - - ib.

An account of the different rules or orders of Religious, with their diſcipline, dreſs, &c.—orders were either religious or military, of the former were monks, nuns, and canons—of the monks - - from 69 to 76

The next religious orders were the ſecular and regular canons from 76 to 80

The different orders of nuns - - - 80 to 83

The different orders of friars - - - 83 to 87

The two military orders of knights-hoſpitallers and knights templars, with the order of St. Lazarus of Jeruſalem - - - 87 to 89

An account of the general title of the religious houſes, *viz.* cathedrals, collegiate churches, abbies, priories, colleges, hoſpitals, preceptories, and friaries—with their proper officers - - - - 90 to 98

Viſitation of the ſeveral monaſteries in 1535, in order to find pretences for their ſuppreſſion:—The viſitors' returns of the various abuſes and impoſitions practiſed in the religious houſes—and in 1539 the total diſſolution of the monaſteries was effected and confirmed by act of parliament 99 to 102

ARCHI-

CONTENTS.

ARCHITECTURE.

Page.

Of the architecture of our ancient buildings, and particularly the religious houſes - - - - - - - - 107

The Saxon architecture in this country, from a variety of reaſons, proved to be the Roman manner - - - - from 107 to 110

The Norman ſtyle of building, the characteriſtic mark of it, the ornaments, &c.—and when the high towers and croſs aiſles were firſt introduced here - - - - - from 110 to 113

The Gothic or Saracenical manner of building, with a full enquiry from whence derived—when the pointed arch was uſed in this country 113

Brick building, with a variety of pointed arches, came into faſhion in the latter end of the reign of Henry VIII.—the then Gothic began to decline—a mixed manner of the Roman and Grecian architecture prevailed about the time of Inigo Jones - - - - from 122 to 124

The marks which conſtitute the Gothic or Saracenical architecture from 125 to 127

DOMESDAY BOOK.

An account of Domeſday Book, compiled by order of William the Conqueror, with the advice of his parliament, anno 1080, and completed in 1086—the reaſons for making this ſurvey—and the ſubjects for the commiſſioners' enquiries - - - - from 128 to 131

The public authority of this book—the value of money—with a ſpecimen of the entries - - - - - from 132 to 134

DRUIDICAL MONUMENTS.

An account of theſe ancient monuments - - - - 135

Of ſingle ſtones or obeliſks - - - - - ib.

Of Carnes - - - - - - 136

Of Kiſt-vaens - - - - - - 136, 137

Of Rock-baſons - - - - - - - 138

Of Loggon or rocking ſtones - - - ib.

Of the Cromleh - - - - - - - 139

Of circles, ovals, &c. - - - - - 140

Of the Tolmen - - - - - - - 141

Addenda to the Preface—Of monuments - - - from 143 to 152

Deſcription of the plates to ditto - - from 153 to 155

Fonts - - - - - - - from 156 to 160

COUNTY INDEX TO VOLUME I.

Name of the Abbey, Castle, Monastery, Priory, or Ruin, &c.	Point of View.	When founded or built.	When refounded or rebuilt.	View when taken.	View by whom taken. N. B. Those without a name were drawn by the author.	Page
BEDFORDSHIRE.						
The Map - - - - - -	—	—	—	—	to face Preface	142
Bedford-Bridge - - - plate 1.	N. E.	921	1224	1761	— —	1
Ditto - - - - plate 2.	E.	—	—	1760	— —	3
BERKSHIRE.						
The Map - - - - - -	—	—	—	—	— —	4
Bustlesham, or Bysham Monastery	—	1338	—	1760	The. Forrest, Esq.	4
Dunnington Castle - - - -	N. W.	—	1396	1768	— —	5
——— Plan of, with view of Gateway	—	—	—	—	— —	5
George's (St.) Chapel, Windsor	—	—	—	—	Mr. T. Sandby	9
Keading Abbey - - - plate 1.	—	1121	1732	1762	Mr. P. Sandby	13
Ditto - - - - plate 2.	S.	1125	—	1759	— —	17
BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.						
The Map - - - - - -	—	—	—	—	to face - -	21
Stivecle, or Stukeley Church - -	—	—	—	—	— —	21
CAMBRIDGESHIRE.						
The Map - - - - - -	—	—	—	—	— —	20
Cambridge Castle - - - -	S. E.	1066	—	1769	— —	21
Plan of, and Bird's-eye view when entire	—	—	—	—	— —	21
Pythagoras's School - - - -	—	—	—	—	— —	23
CHESHIRE.						
The Map - - - - - -	—	—	—	—	to face - -	26
Beeston Castle - - - plate 1.	S. W.	1200	—	1760	Mr. Hamilton	27
Ditto - - - - plate 2.	S.	—	—	1773	Mr. P. Sandby	29
Birkchedde Priory - - - -	—	1192	—	1770	Mr. Richards	32
Chester Castle - - - plate 1.	—	1100	—	1770	— —	33
Ditto - - - - plate 2.	S. E.	—	—	1769	— —	35
Chester Bridge - - - - -	—	918	—	1770	— —	36
——— New or Water Tower - -	—	1322	—	ditto	— —	37
CORNWALL.						
The Map - - - - - -	—	—	—	—	to face - -	39
Restormel Castle - - - -	—	—	—	—	— —	39
CUMBERLAND.						
The Map - - - - - -	—	—	—	1774	to face - -	43
Bees (St.) Monastery of - - -	N. W.	1117	—	ditto	— —	43
Carlisle Castle - - - - -	N. E.	1095	—	1774	— —	46
——— Plan of, on plate with Penrith	—	—	—	—	— —	46
Cockermouth Castle - - plate 1.	N. E.	1070	—	1774	— —	49
Ditto - - - - plate 2.	—	—	—	ditto	— —	51
Lanecrost Priory - - plate 1.	N. E.	1169	—	ditto	— —	51
Ditto - - - - plate 2.	W.	—	—	ditto	— —	53
Naworth Castle - - plate 1.	—	1336	—	—	— —	56
Ditto - - - - plate 2.	—	—	—	1772	Mr. M. Griffiths	58
Penrith Castle - - - - -	N. W.	—	—	1774	— —	61
——— Plan of, on plate with Carlisle	—	—	—	—	— —	46

DIRECTIONS for placing the CUTS, &c.

THE views, plans, and maps are to be placed to each respective description as referred to in the preceding Index.

History preserving the monuments of Antiquity, frontispiece to Volume I.

The knight and hermit to front the Introduction.

The machines of war to front page 16.

The plate of armour to face page 51.

Religious orders to face page 90.

Grand door of Barfreston Church, in Kent, page 111.

Barfreston Church, page 113.

Stranger's Hall, Christ Church, Canterbury, page 113.

Frize on the north and south fronts of Alderbury Church, Oxfordshire, page 112; mentioned there by mistake as in Suffolk.

The plate of architecture to front page 111.

Saxon and Gothic Architecture, to face page 125.

Druidical Antiquities to face page 135.

PREFACE.

CASTLES.

CASTLES, (a) walled with stone, and designed for residence as well as defence, such as those whose remains make a considerable part of the following work, are, for the most part, of no higher antiquity than the conquest; (b) for although the Saxons, Romans, and even, according to some writers on antiquity, (c) the ancient Britons had castles built with stone; yet these were both few in number, and, at that period, through neglect or invasions, either destroyed or so much decayed, that little more than their ruins were remaining. This is asserted by many of our historians and antiquaries, and assigned as a reason for the facility with which William made himself master of this country.

(a) Larger castles were in Latin called castra; the smaller by the diminutive, castella. Julius Ferettus has this ridiculous etymology of the word castrum: "Castra dicta sunt a castitate, quia ibi omnes castè vivere debent." They were likewise stiled arx, turris, fossa, maceria, mota, firmitas, & munitio; as in the charter made between King Stephen and Henry II. Castrum de Wallingford, Castellum de Belencomber, Turris London, Mota Oxenford, Firmitas Lincolniæ, Munitio Hamptoniæ. Pile, Peel and Bastile, also signify a small castle or fortress.

(b) Agard, in his Discourse of Castles, says, "For I read in the Historye of Normandye, wrytten in Frenche, that when Sweyne, King of Denmark, entered the realme against Kinge Alred or Allured, to revenge the night slaughter of the Danes, done by the Saxons in Englande, he subdued all before him, because there were no fortes or castles to withstand or stop him; and the reason yielded is, because the fortes of England, for the most part, were buylte after the Normans possessed the realme. The words be these: "Suen le roy des Danoys ala parmy Angleterre conquerant, et ne lui contredisoit lon nulle chose quil vouloist faire car lors il n'avoit que peu ou nulles fortresses, et les y ont puys fait faire, celles qui y sont les Normans quant & depuys quils conquistrent les pays." *Antiq. Discourses, vol.* 1, *p.* 188. Of this opinion was also Sir William Dugdale, as appears by the following passage in his History of Warwickshire: "In those dayes (in the Saxons time I mean) were very few such defensible places as we now call castles, that being a French name; so that though the English were a bold and warlike people, yet for want of the like strong holds, they were much the lesse able to resist their enemies."

(c) Borlase's History of Cornwall, p. 531.

This circumstance was not overlooked by so good a general as the Conqueror; who, effectually to guard against invasions from without, as well as to awe his newly acquired subjects, immediately began to erect castles all over the kingdom; and likewise to repair and augment the old ones, with such assiduity, that Rous says, " Nam Rex Will. Conquestor ad castella construenda totam Angliam fatigabat." (d) Besides, as he had parcelled out the lands of the English amongst his followers, they, to protect themselves from the resentment of those so despoiled, built strong-holds and castles on their estates. This likewise caused a considerable increase of these fortresses; and the turbulent and unsettled state of the kingdom in the succeeding reigns, served to multiply them prodigiously: every baron, or leader of a party, building castles; insomuch that, towards the latter end of the reign of King Stephen, they amounted to the almost incredible number of eleven hundred and fifteen. (e)

As the feudal system gathered strength, these castles became the heads of baronies: (f) each castle was a manor; and its castellain owner, or governor, the lord of that manor. (g) Markets and fairs were directed to be held there; not only to prevent frauds in the king's duties or customs, but also, as they were esteemed places where the laws of the land were observed, (h) and as such, had a very particular privilege. (i) But this good order did

(d) Rous Rot. 1.

(e) Registrum Prioratus de Dunstaple.

(f) Madox's Baronia, pages 17, 18.

(g) Blount's Law Dictionary in Castel.

(h) Item nullum mercatum vel forum sit, nec fieri permittatur, nisi in civitatibus regni nostri, et in burgis, et muro vallatis, et in castellis, et in locis tutissimis, ubi consuetudines regni nostri, et jus nostrorum commune et dignitates coronæ nostræ, quæ constitutæ sunt a bonis prædecessoribus nostris deperiri non possent, nec defraudari, nec violari, sed omnia ritè et in aperto, et per judicium et justitiam fieri debent. Et ideo castella, et burgi, et civitates, sitæ sunt et fundatæ et ædificate, scilicet, ad tuetionem gentium et populorum regni, et ad defensionem regni, et idcirco observari debent, cum omni libertate, et integritate, et ratione. *Carta regis Willielmi Conquisitoris. Transcribed from Wilkins, and the Red Book of the Exchequer, printed in the Appendix to Lord Lyttelton's History of Henry II.*

(i) Item, si servi permanserint sine calumnia per annum et diem in civitatibus nostris, vel in burgis muro vallatis, vel in castris nostris, a die illa liberi officiuntur, et liberi a jugo servitutis suæ sint in perpetuum.

not

not long last; (k) for the lords of castles began to arrogate to themselves a royal power, not only within their castles, but likewise its environs; exercising judicature both civil and criminal, coining of money, and arbitrarily seizing forage and provision for the subsistence of their garrisons, (l) which they afterwards demanded as a right: at length, their insolence and oppression grew to such a pitch, that, according to William of Newbury, "there were in England as many kings, or rather tyrants, as lords of castles;" and Matthew Paris stiles them, very nests of devils, and dens of thieves. Castles were not solely in the possession of the crown and the lay barons, but even bishops had these fortresses; though it seems to have been contrary to the canons, from a plea made use of in a general council, (m) in favour of King Stephen, who had seized upon the strong castles of the bishops of Lincoln and Salisbury. This prohibition (if such existed) was however very little regarded; as, in the following reigns, many strong places were held, and even defended, by ecclesiasticks; neither was more obedience afterwards paid to a decree made by the pope at Viterbo, (n) the fifth of the calends of June, 1220, wherein it was ordained, that no person in England should keep in his hands more than two of the king's castles.

The licentious behaviour of the garrisons of these places becoming intolerable, in the treaty between King Stephen and Henry II. when only duke of Normandy, it was agreed, that all the castles, built within a certain period, should be demolished; in consequence of which, many were actually razed, but not the number stipulated. On the accession of Henry to the throne, diverse others were destroyed; and all persons prohibited from erecting new ones, without the king's especial licence, called licentia kernellare, (o) or crenellare. Few, if any, of these licences are of older date than the reign of Edward III. A copy

(k) *Antiq. Discourses*, p. 190, 191.
(l) Madox's Baronia, page 20.
(m) Lyttelton's History of Henry II. vol. 1. p. 219.
(n) Acta Regia, page 46.
(o) From crena, a notch.

of

of one, granted by Richard II. to the Lord Scrope, for the erection of the castle of Bolton in Yorkshire, is inserted in the note below. (p) Licences to crenellate were also granted by the bishops of Durham, and probably by other dukes and princes palatine.

It does not, however, seem as if the demolition of these castles put a stop to the depredations complained of; as to prevent like extortions, diverse acts of parliament were passed in the reigns of Henry III. and Edward I. directing in what manner, and of whom purveyance for a castle should be made, wherein it was ordained that no constable nor his bailiff should take corn or other chattels of any man, not being of the town where the castle stood, without immediate payment for the same, unless the owner consented to trust for his money, and if he was of the same town, the value was to be paid to him within forty days.

Another species of tyranny exercised by the constables or governors of these castles, as late as the reign of Henry IV. is pointed out by the Rolls of Parliament, in a petition from the Commons, setting forth, that many of the constables of castles, who were appointed justices of the peace, made use of their authority under different pretences, to seize and imprison persons against whom they had any ill will, and to keep them till they had paid a fine or ransom for their deliverance, wherefore the petitioners humbly prayed his majesty to ordain, for the future, that no constable of a castle should be a justice of the peace in that county wherein his castle was situated, and that no one should be imprisoned, except in the common gaol of the county,

(p) Richardus Dei gracia Rex Angliæ et Francia et dominus Hibernie, omnibus ad quos presentes litteræ prevenerint salutem, sciatis quod de gracia nostra speciali concessimus & licentiam dedimus pro nobis & heredibus nostris dilecto & fideli nostro Ricardo Lescrop, cancellario nostro, quod ipse manerium suum de Bolton in Wencelaw Dale, seu unam placeam infra idem manerium muro de petre & calce firmare & kernellare & manerium illud ceu placeam, illam sic firmatum & kernellatum vel firmatum & kernellatam, tenere possit sibi & heredibus suis imperpetuum sine occasione vel impedimento nostri vel heredum nostrorum justiciorum escaetorum, vicecomitum aut aliorum baliorum seu ministrorum nostrorum vel heredum nostrorum quorumcunque. In cujus rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Teste meipso apud Westmonasterium quarto die Julij anno regni nostri tertio. Per breve de privato sigillo. *Waltham.*

under

under a penalty to be settled by that parliament, reserving to the lords their ancient franchises. This petition the king was pleased to grant.

Royal castles, for the defence of the country, were however erected, when deemed necessary, at the public expence.

The few castles in being under the Saxon government, were probably on occasion of war or invasions, garrisoned by the national militia, and at other times slightly guarded by the domestics of the princes or great personages who resided therein; but after the conquest, when all the estates were converted into baronies, held by knights service, castle guard coming under that denomination, was among the duties to which particular tenants were liable. (q) From these services the bishops and abbots, who till the time of the Normans had held their lands in frank almoign, (r) or free alms, were, by this new regulation, not exempted; they were not, indeed, like the laity, obliged to personal service, it being sufficient that they provided fit and able persons to officiate in their stead. This was, however, at first stoutly opposed by Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury; who being obliged to find some knights to attend King William Rufus in his wars in Wales, complained of it as an innovation and infringement of the rights and immunities of the church.

It was no uncommon thing for the Conqueror and the kings of those days, to grant estates to men of approved fidelity and valour, on condition that they should perform castle-guard, in the royal castles, with a certain number of men, for some specified time; and sometimes they were likewise bound by their tenures

(q) By a statute 9 Henry III. chap. 20, there is the following regulation respecting persons bound to do castle guard, who may be called to serve in the king's army. "No constable shall distrain any knight for to give him money for the keeping of his castle, if he himself shall do it in his proper person, or cause it to be done by another sufficient man, if he may not do it for a reasonable cause, and if we do lead or send him in an army, he shall be free from castle ward for the time that he shall be with us in fee in our host, for the which he hath done service in our wars."

(r) As tenants in frank almoigne, their estates were only liable to the trinoda necessitas, building of bridges, castles for the defence of the country, and repelling invasions; whereas by the new establishment and tenures, they were obliged to perform military service in foreign countries, and in time of peace.

to keep in repair and guard some particular tower or bulwark, as was the case at Dover castle.

In process of time these services were commuted for annual rents, sometimes stiled ward-penny, and wayt-fee, (s) but commonly castle-guard rents, payable on fixed days, under prodigious penalties, called sursizes. At Rochester, (t) if a man failed in the payment of his rent of castle-guard, on the feast of St. Andrew, his debt was doubled every tide, during the time for which the payment was delayed. These were afterwards restrained by an act of parliament made in the reign of King Henry VIII. (u) and finally annihilated, with the tenures by knights service, in the time of Charles II. (w) Such castles as were private property, were guarded either by mercenary soldiers, or the tenants of the lord or owner.

Castles which belonged to the crown, or fell to it either by forfeiture or escheat (circumstances that frequently happened in the distracted reigns of the feudal times), were generally committed to the custody of some trusty person, who seems to have been indifferently stiled governor and constable. Sometimes also they were put into the possession of the sheriff of the county, who often converted them into prisons: instances of this occur in many castles described in this work. (x) That officer was then accountable at the Exchequer, for the farm or produce of the lands belonging to the places entrusted to his care, as well as all other profits: he was likewise, in case of war or invasion, obliged to victual and furnish them with munition, out of the issues of his county; to which he was directed by writ of privy seal. Variety

(s) Blount's Law Dictionary.

(t) History of Rochester, page 40; and Antiq. Discourses, page 190.

(u) Vide Dover Castle, plate I. in this work.

(w) 12 Charles II. cap. 24.

(x) Some of them seem to have been particularly appropriated to that use, for in 10 Richard II. anno 1389, the commons presented a petition to the king in parliament, complaining that diverse castles, which had at all times appertained to, and been joined to the office of sheriff, had of late been granted to other persons, whereby the sheriffs were deprived of their prisons, to the great hurt and disorder of the country, and praying that the said castles may be rejoined to the offices of sheriffs, as a work of charity and a benefit to the counties. Rolls of Parliament.

of

of these writs, temp. Edward III. are to be seen in Madox's History of the Exchequer, one of which is given in the notes; (y) and it appears, from the same authority, that the barons of the Exchequer were sometimes appointed to survey these castles, (z) and the state of the buildings and works carrying on therein.

The materials of which castles were built, varied according to the places of their erection; but the manner of their construction seems to have been pretty uniform. The outsides of the walls were generally built with the stones nearest at hand, laid as regularly as their shapes would admit; the insides were filled up with the like materials, mixed with a great quantity of fluid mortar, which was called, by the workmen, grout work: a very ancient method of building, used by the Romans, and quoted by Palladio, and all the writers on architecture. The angles were always coigned, and the arches turned with squared stone, brought from Caen in Normandy, with which the whole outside was now and then cased. Sometimes, instead of stone, the insides of the walls were formed with squared chalk, as is the castle of Guildford; and even the pillars and arches of a groined vault in that town, supposed formerly to have belonged to the castle. When the Normans found the ruins of an ancient building, on the site of their intended structure, which very frequently happened, they either endeavoured to incorporate it into their work, or made use of the materials; as may be seen by many buildings of known

(y) Rex volens certis ex causis castrum suum Norwyce, quod est in custodia vicecomitis ex commissione regis, competenter muniri & salvo & secure custodiri: preceptum est vicecomiti in fide qua regi tenetur, quod castrum prædictum victualibus & rebus aliis necessariis, pro custodia & municione ejusdem congruentibus, de exitibus ballivæ suæ muniri faciat competenter, absq, dilacionis incommodo aliquali; ne pro defectu munitionis aut sufficientis custodiæ, periculum regi, inde immineat quovis modo. Et hoc, sicut se & sua diligit, ac indignationem & forisfacturam regis gravissimam vitare voluerit, non omittat. Custos vero rationabilis, quos circa municionem prædictam per ipsum vicecomitem apponi continget, cum rex illos rite sciverit, eidem vicecomiti in compotu suo ad scaccarium debite allocari faciet. De hijs etiam quæ vicecomes circa municionem prædictam apposuerit & eorum precio, (de quibus omnibus & singulis, nisi ex causa necessaria ea circa salvationem ejusdem castri apponi & expendi opporteat, rex per ipsum vult responderi) thesaurio & baronibus di scaccario apud Westm. in Octabis, S. Hillarij, distincte & aperte per singula singillatim constare faciat. Et habebat ibi tunc hoc breve. T. W. de Norwico xxix die Decembris. Per breve de privato sigillo directum prædicti W. tunc custodi thesaurariæ regis, vol. 1. page 382.

(z) Vol. 2. p. 67.

Norman

Norman construction, wherein are fragments of Saxon architecture, or large quantities of Roman bricks; which has caused them often to be mistaken for Roman or Saxon edifices.

The general shape or plan of these castles depended entirely on the caprice of the architects, or the form of the ground intended to be occupied: neither do they seem to have confined themselves to any particular figure in their towers; square, round, and poligonal, oftentimes occurring in the original parts of the same building.

The situations commonly chosen, were, steep rocks, cliffs, eminences, or the banks of rivers: but the engineers of those days seem to have too much disregarded the circumstance of their works being commanded by neighbouring heights, within the range assigned to their battering engines. The situation of the castles of Corfe and Dover, has those imperfections, notwithstanding they were considered as two of the strongest and most important castles in the kingdom.

The names and uses of the different works of ancient fortifications, can only be ascertained by an attention to minute historical relations of sieges in those times; ancient records relative to their repairs; and the labours of our glossographers. From these I shall endeavour to illustrate them.

To begin then from without:—The first member of an ancient castle was the barbican. (a) The etymology of this word, as explained by diverse authors, is given in the notes below; and

(a) Barbican, barbacane, antemurale, specula, turris speculatoria, propugnaculi genus. *Vox Arabicæ originis.* Spelman autem ab A. S. Burgekenning (i. e.) urbs seu propugnaculi specula deflectit. *Junius Annon.* Burgh-beacon. Urbis specula prætenturis idonea. *Skinner.* Barbacana propugnaculum exterius, quo oppidum aut castrum; præsertim vero eorum portæ aut muri muniuntur. *Du Cange.* The castle it seems, for the more security, was fore fenced with a barbican, or barbacan; which exotic word Sir Henry Spelman thus interpets: A barbacan is a fort or hold; a munition placed in the front of a castle, or an outwork; also a hole in the wall of a city or castle, through which arrows and darts were cast out, also a watch tower; it is an Arabic word. So he. Minshew thus: A barbican (saith he) or outnook in a wall, with holes to shoot out at the enemy: some take it for a centinel-house or scout-house. Chaucer useth the word barbican for a watch-tower, of the Saxon ber-ic-ken, i. e. I ken, or see, the borough: had he said burgh-be-can, he had gone pretty nigh; for thence I would derive it, were I not convinced of its Arabic original. *Somner's Canterbury,* page 20.

although

although in this they somewhat differ, yet all agree that it was a watch-tower, for the purpose of descrying an enemy at a greater distance. It seems to have had no positive place, except that it was always an outwork, and frequently advanced beyond the ditch; to which it was then joined by a draw-bridge, (b) and formed the entrance into the castle. Barbicans are mentioned in Framlingham and Canterbury castles. For the repairing this work, a tax, called barbacanage, (c) was levied on certain lands.

The work next in order was the ditch (d), moat, graff, or foss; for by all these different names it was called. This was either wet or dry, according to the circumstances of the situation; though, when it could be had, our ancestors generally chose the former: but they do not seem to have had any particular rule for either its depth or breadth. When it was dry, there were sometimes subterranean passages, through which the cavalry could sally. Ditches of royal castles were cleansed at the public expence; or that perhaps of the tenants of the lands adjoining, by an imposition, or tax, as appears from several charters in the Monasticon, whereby the monks are exempted from that charge. This ditch was sometimes called the ditch del bayle, or of the ballium; a distinction from the ditches of the interior works. Over it was either a standing, or draw-bridge, leading to the ballium: within the ditch were the walls of the ballium, or outworks. In towns, the appellation of ballium (e) was given to any work

(b) Barbicanum, a watch-tower, bulwark, or breast-work. Mandatum est Johanni de Kilmyngton, custodi castri regis, & honori de Pickering, quoddam barbacanum ante portam castri regis prædicti muro lapideo, & in eodem barbicano quondam portam cum ponte versatili, &c. De novo facere, &c. T. rege 10 August. claus. 17th Edw. II. m. 39. *Blount's Law Dictionary.*

(c) Barbicanage (barbicanagium), money given to the maintenance of a barbican, or watch-tower; carta 17 Edward III. m. 6. n. 14. *Blount.*

(d) Mote, or moat, generally means a ditch, as in this place; yet it sometimes signifies a castle, on the site of some ancient fortress. Morta de Windsor is used for Windsor castle, in the agreement between King Stephen and Henry Duke of Normandy.

(e) Dans la suite on fit une espece de fortification a quelque distance de la ville a la tete des Faux Bourgs, de la quelle, Froissart fait très-souvent mention, & qu'il apelle du nom de Bailles. Ce mot vient de battaglia mot Latin de la basse Latinitè qui signifie une fortification, un retranchement ou l'onbattailloit. C'étoit la en effet que les partis ennemis qui couroient

work fenced with palisades, and sometimes masonry, covering the suburbs; but in castles was the space immediately within the outer wall. When there was a double enceinte of walls, the areas next each wall were stiled the outer and inner ballia. The manner in which these are mentioned below, (f) in the siege of Bedford Castle, sufficiently justifies this position, which receives farther confimation, from the enumeration of the lands belonging to Colchester Castle; wherein are specified, "The upper bayley, in which the castle stands, and the nether bayley, &c."

The wall of the ballium in castles was commonly high, flanked with towers, and had a parapet, embattled, crenellated, or garretted: for the mounting of it, there were flights of steps at convenient distances, and the parapet often had the merlons pierced with long chinks, ending in round holes, called oillets.

Father Daniel mentions a work, called a bray, (g) which he thinks somewhat similar to the ballium.

Within

la campagne, venorent quelquefois fair le coup de lance avec ceux de la garnison. C'étoit par là que l'on commencoit l'attaque d'une ville.

Si se retrahit l'ost, dit Froissart en parlant de l'attaque que le comte de Hainaut fit a la ville de St. Amand en Flandre si tôt qu'il fut venu & sa campagnie à lassaut, qui fut moult grand & dur & conquirent de premiere venue les bailles & vindrent jusqu'à la porte qui ouvre devors Mortagne. Ce retranchement étoit quelquefois de bois ou de palissades, quelquefois il étoit de maconnerie. C'étoit un post avancé ou l'on faisoit la garde, pour empécher la surprise de la place par les portes. . . Je ne scai si ces bailles étoient differentes d'un espece de fortification que nos anciens auteurs appelloient du nom de barbacane. Les murailles ausi hautes que solides, dit le Moine d'Auxerre sous l'an 1201, outre les avant-murs qu'ils appellent barbacannes, furent renversées. Or les bailles quand elles étoient faites de maconnerie; étoient des especes d'avant-murs. Ainsi il y a de l'apparence que cetoit la meme chose. *Pere Daniel. Hist. de la Milice Francoise*, tom. 1. p. 604.

(f) Ballium, propugnaculi species, *Du Cange*. Et coururent plusieurs fois jusques a la baille, & la mirent en feu. *Chronicon Flandr.* cap. 113. La feirent l'un à l'autre moult grant honneur, & mangerent seant sur les bailles ensemble. *Ibidem.*—The castle was taken by four assaults: in the first was taken the barbican; in the second, the outer ballia; at the third attack the wall by the old tower was thrown down by the miners, where, with great danger, they possessed themselves of the inner ballia, through a chink; at the fourth assault, the miners set fire to the tower, so that the smoke burst out, and the tower itself was cloven to that degree, as to shew visibly some broad chinks; whereupon the enemy surrendered. *Camden's Britannia. Bedford.*

(g) Les braies paroissent avoir eté encore une fortification comme les bailles, & la barbacane. Quelques auteurs l'apellent en Latin brachiale. Les braies étoient donc, ce me semble, une espece d'avant-mur elevé devant la porte; ou peut etre une saillie de tour, & apparement de la est venu le nom de fausse-braie dans les fortifications modernes, qui est comme l'avant-mur du bastion qu'elle entoure. *P. Daniel*, tom. 1. p. 604. Herse, est un grillage compose

de

Within the ballium were the lodgings and barracks for the garrison and artificers, wells, chapels, and even sometimes a monastery. Large mounts were also often thrown up in this place: these served, like modern cavaliers, to command the adjacent country.

The entrance into the ballium was commonly through a strong machicolated and embattled gate, between two towers, secured by a herse, or portcullis. Over this gate were rooms, originally intended for the porter of the castle: the towers served for the corps de garde.

On an eminence, in the center, commonly (h), though not always, stood the keep (i), or dungeon (k); sometimes, as in the relation of the siege of Bedford Castle, emphatically called the tower; it was the citadel, or last retreat of the garrison, often surrounded by a ditch, with a draw-bridge, and machicolated gate (l); and occasionally with an outer wall, garnished with small towers. In large castles it was generally a high square tower, of four or five stories, having turrets at each angle: in these turrets were the stair-cases: and frequently, as in Dover and Rochester Castles, a well. If, instead of a square, the keep

de plusieurs piéces de bois qu'on met au dessus de la porte d'une fortresse en dedans & qu'on suspend avec une ou plusieurs cordes, qui tiennent à un moulinent pour len laisser tomber sur le passage & boucher, l'entree d'une porte, en cas de surprise. *Dict. d'Ingenieur.* The same as portcullis; which is so called from porta clausa, or port-close, a sort of machine like a harrow.

(h) The keeps at Portchester, Cambridge, and Oxford Castles, were in the exterior walls.

(i) The keep, or (as the Frenchmen term a strong tower or platform, as this is, in the middle of a castle or fort, wherein the besieged make their last efforts of defence, when the rest is forced) dungeon. *Somner's Roman Forts,* page 93.

(k) Cotgrove gives, verbatim, the same explanation of dungeon. Donjon. En fortification, est une reduit dans une place ou dans une citadelle, ou l'on se retire quelque fois pour capituler, *Dictionaire portatif de l'Ingenieur.* Dunjo. Castellullum, minus propugnaculum, in duno seu colle edificatum, unde nomen donjon. *Du Cange.*

(l) Machecollare vel machecoulare (from the French machecoulis, to make a warlike device; especially over the gate of a castle) resembling a grate, through which scalding water, or offensive things, may be thrown upon pioneers or assailants. 1 *Inst.* fol. 5, 8. *Blount's Law Dictionary.* Machicolations over gates are small projections, supported by brackets, having open intervals at the bottom, through which melted lead and stones were thrown down on the heads of the assailants; and likewise large weights fastened to ropes or chains, by which, after they had taken effect, they were retracted by the besieged. *See a plan and section in the plate.*

or

or dungeon happened to be round, it was called a Julliet (m), from a vulgar opinion, that large round towers were built by Julius Cæsar.

The walls of this edifice were always of an extraordinary thickness; which has enabled them to outlive the other buildings, and to withstand the united injuries of time and weather: the keeps, or dungeons, being almost the only part now remaining of our ancient castles.

Here, commonly on the second story, were the state rooms for the governor, if that title may be given to such gloomy cells; whose darksome appearance induced Mr. Borlase to form a conjecture, more ingenious than well-grounded; namely, that these buildings were stiled dungeons, from their want of light; because the builders, to strengthen their ramparts, denied themselves the pleasure of windows: not but most of them had small chinks, which answered the double purpose of admitting the light, and served for embrasures, from whence they might shoot with long and cross bows: these chinks, though without they have some breadth, and carry the appearance of windows, are very narrow next the chambers, diminishing considerably inward. Some of the smaller keeps had not even these conveniences, but were solely lighted by a small perforation in the top, or skylight, called courts. It was from this sort, Mr. Borlase formed his supposition.

The different stories were frequently vaulted, and divided by strong arches; sometimes indeed they were only separated by joists: on the top was generally a platform, with an embattled parapet, from whence the garrison could see and command the exterior works.

The total change of the art of war, brought about by the invention of gunpowder and artillery, the more settled state of the nation, Scotland becoming part of the dominions of the kings of England, the respectable footing of our navy, whose wooden

(m) Antiq. Discourses, p. 187.

walls

walls secure us from invasions, and the abolition of the feudal system, all conspired to render castles of little use or consequence, as fortresses: so the great improvements in arts and sciences, and their constant attendant, the increase of luxury, made our nobility and gentry build themselves more pleasant and airy dwellings; relinquishing these ancient, dreary mansions of their forefathers, where the enjoyment of light and air was sacrificed to the consideration of strength; and whose best rooms, according to our modern refined notions, have more the appearance of gaols and dungeons for prisoners, than apartments for the reception of a rich and powerful baron.

However, in the reign of Charles I. a little before the breaking out of the civil war, some inquiry into the state of these buildings seems to have taken place; for, on the 22d of January, 1636, (n) a commission was issued appointing Lieutenant-Colonel Francis Coningsby, commissary-general of and for all the castles and fortifications in England and Wales, with an allowance of 13*s.* 4*d.* a day, to be paid out of the checks and defalcations that should be made by him from time to time; or, in default thereof, out of the treasury. Whether this office was really instituted for the purpose of scrutinizing into the state of these fortresses, as foreseeing the events which afterwards happened; or whether it was only formed to gratify some favourite, does not appear. During the troubles of that reign, some ancient castles were garrisoned and defended; several of which were afterwards destroyed, by order of the parliament: since that period, they have been abandoned to the mercy of time, weather, and the more unsparing hands of avaricious men. The last have proved the most destructive; many of these monuments of ancient magnificence having been by them torn down, for the sake of the materials; by which the country has been deprived of those remains of antiquity, so essential, in the eyes of foreigners, to the dignity of a nation;

(n) Acta Regia.

and which, if rightly considered, tended to inspire the beholder with a love for the now happy establishment; by leading him to compare the present with those times when such buildings were erected, times when this unhappy kingdom was torn by intestine wars; when the son was armed against the father, and brother slaughtered brother; when the lives, honour, and properties of the wretched inhabitants depended on the nod of an arbitrary king, or were subject to the more tyrannical and capricious wills of lawless and foreign barons.

The method of attack and defence of fortified places, practised by our ancestors, before, and even some time after the invention of gunpowder, (o) was much after the manner of the Romans; most of the same machines being made use of, though some of them under different names.

They had their engines for throwing stones and darts, of different weights and sizes; the greater answering to our battering cannon and mortars; the smaller, to our field-pieces. These were distinguished by the appellations of balista, catapulta, espringals, terbuchets, mangonas, mangonels, bricolles, the petrary, the matafunda and the warwolf. Father Daniel also mentions a machine, called engine-a-verge, used by the English, in France, as late as the reign of Charles VII. but acknowledges, he did not know what sort of machine it was.

For approaching the walls, they had their moveable towers; by which the besiegers were not only covered, but their height, commanding the ramparts, enabled them to see the garrison, who were otherwise hid by the parapet: for passing the ditch, the cattus and sow, machines answering to the pluteus and vinea, or testudo and musculus, of the Romans: the ram was sometimes, but not commonly, used.

Mines too were frequently practised. These were either subterraneous passages into some unfrequented part of the fortress; or else

(o) Mangonels were used fifty years after the invention of cannon. *P. Daniel Histoire de la Milice Francois,* p. 562, *& ibid.* 563. Indeed the art of war was pretty similar all over Europe, at least after the first crusade: where so many generals meeting, each undoubtedly adopted what he saw excellent in any of the confederated nations.

made

made with an intent, as at present, to throw down the wall. Countermines were also in use, and the engineers of those days were not unacquainted with artificial fireworks.

Few of these machines, except the balista and catapulta, are so described as to give any tolerable idea of their construction; concerning even them, authors considerably differ: for the remainder, of some we have only the name and use, and of others, barely the name; probably owing to most of the historians of those times being monks, who knew them only by hearsay; or from an account of their effects: nevertheless, in order to obtain such knowledge of them as these scanty materials will furnish, it will be necessary to collect what those writers relate concerning them, tending to elucidate either their form, use, or powers.

Of balistas and catapultas writers describe various sorts, and frequently confound those two machines together. Indeed, though the balista mostly threw darts, it was sometimes used for casting stones, (p) as was also the catapulta, (q) which, from its name, should seem to be appropriated for darts. These have been described by Vetruvius, Ammianus Marcellinus, Isidorus, Lipsius, Follard, Perrault, and others; and from all their accounts, it is evident, that the force or moving power, depended on the elasticity of twisted cords, made with women's hair, that of horses, or the bowels of animals; (r) the thicker this cordage, the greater was the force of the engine.

Another

(p) Balistam verbere nervorum torqueri, magna vi jacere aut hastas aut saxa. *Isidorus.*

(q) Catapulta, signifying a dart. Accidit interea commisso contra Anglo prælio per regem præfatum, eundem sagitta ferea & hamata, quæ vulgo catapulta dici solet lethaliter vulnerari. *Vita S. Monani to* 1 *S S, Martin,* p. 88. Plautus usus est etiam pro telo; alii pro balista. *Du Cange.*

(r) Vegetius says, Onager, autem dirigit lapides, sed pro nervorum crassitudine, & magnitudine saxorum, pondera jaculatur; nam quanto amplior fuerit, tanto majora saxo fulminis more contorquet. On this principle the catapulta M was constructed. The cords, like a skein of thread, were wound evenly over the iron pieces, crossing the two holes, D and E, called capitals, till they were full. In the center of these cords, the arm of the catapulta W is fixed, having a cavity or spoon at its extremity, for holding stones, which were enclosed in a small basket. The cords were then twisted, by means of the wheels and pinions marked X; the arm, which before stood perpendicular, was now brought down to the position represented, and kept fast by a catch; the stones were then put into the spoon, and the arm being suddenly let go, struck against the upright piece Z, and projected the contents of the spoon with amaz-

ing

Another kind, sometimes also called oniger, or scorpio, acted by the fall of a great weight, fixed to the shortest arm of a suspended lever; this raising the other arm, to which a sling was fixed, threw a stone with great velocity. A representation of this is given in the plate, marked O.

From an ancient record it appears that one Edmund Willoughby, (s) held lands in England, by the service of finding a catapulta every year; but it is doubtful whether by this is meant the engine here treated of, or only a sling which was sometimes called by that name.

The bricolle, (t) petrary, (u) mangana and mangonel, (v) matafunda, (w) tirbuchet and warwolf, (x) were all engines for throwing

ing force. When a dart was used, the contrivance K was annexed.——The balista depended on the same principles: its form was more that of a cross-bow. It is delineated in the plate: see N.——Mr. Follard constructed a catapulta, according to this model; which, though only ten inches long, and thirteen broad, threw a leaden ball of a pound weight, 230 French toises, or fathoms; and shot ten darts the distance of one hundred paces.

(s) Catapulta, a warlike engine to shoot darts; a sling. Edmundus Willoughby tenet unum messuagium & sex bovatas terræ in Carleton, ut de maniero de Shelford, per servicium unius catapulta per annum pro omino servicio. Lib. Schedul. de term. Mich. 14. Hen. IV. Not. fol. 210. *Blount's Law Dictionary.*

(t) Pour ce jour ils ne menstrerent autre defense que de bricolles, qui gestoient gros carreaux. *Froissart*, 4th vol. c. 18——Balistam majores dixere prisci trabem validam, ita libratam, ut cum pars densior ponderibus, attracta descenderet, elevata proceritas sua funiculis, quos haberet alligatos, funda saxum maximi ponderis longe emitteret. Eique maxime nunc machinæ brichollæ est appellatio. Blondius, lib. 3. *Romæ Triumphant.*——Trabuchi, machinæ lithobolæ (ejusdem fere generis sunt & bricolæ vocatæ) quibus avorum nostrorum memoria vasti molares in hostes jaculabantur. *Hieronymus Magius*, lib. 1. *Miscell.* c. 1.—— Bricole is a term used in tennis, and signifies a rebound.

(u) Petraræ Gall. Pierieres. Tormentum quod vulgo dicitur petraria, vel mangonum. *Ugotio.*—Machinas jaculatorias quas mangana vel petrarias vocant. *Willelm. Tyrius*, lib. 8. cap. 6.

(v) Alii vero minoribus tormenti, quæ mangana vocantur minores immitando lapides. *Will. Tyrius*, lib. 8. cap. 6. Mangonellus diminutivum, a mangana hoc est, minor machina jaculatoria. *Du Cange.*—Interia grossor petraria, mittit ab intus assidue lapides, mangonellusque minores. *Will. Britto. 7 Philip.* De Mezeray, in his Treatise on Ancient Sieges, says, the greatest range of a mangonel did not exceed five stadia, each stadia consisting of 125 geometrical paces of five feet, making in the whole 1041 yards and 2 feet. He supposes mangona to be a generical word for an engine used for throwing stones or darts.

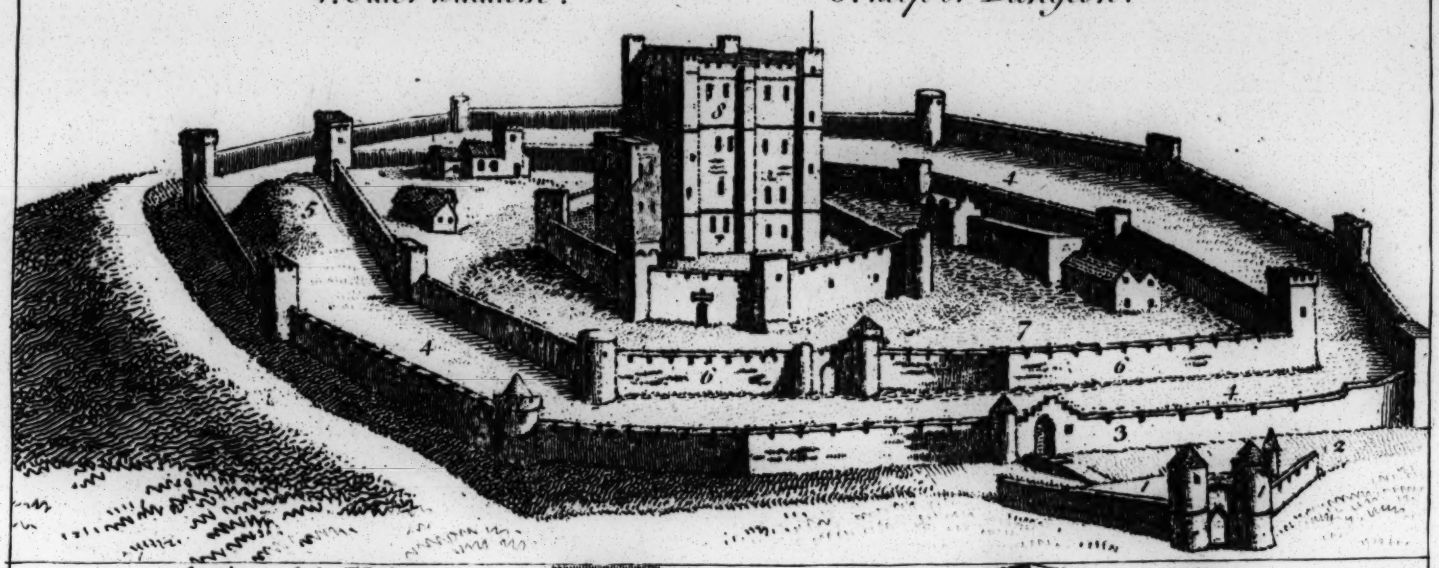
(w) Matafunda. Machina bellica, qua lapides in hostes ejaculabuntur. *Du Cange.* Jaciebant si quidem hostes super nostros creberrimos lapides cum duobus trabuchetis, mangonello & pluribus matafundi. *Monachus, Valis Sarnai in Hist. Albigensi*, c. 86.—Some derive its name from funda & mactare, sometimes written matare; i. e. a murdering sling.

(x) Trebuchetum, trabuchetum. Catapultæ species, seu machina grandior ad projiciendos lapides, & concutiendos urbium obsessarum muros. *Du Cange.*—Per septem trebucheta ordinata,

quæ

References.

1. *The Barbacan.*
2. *The Ditch or Moat.*
3. *Wall of the outer Ballium.*
4. *Outer Ballium.*
5. *Artificial Mount.*
6. *Wall of the Inner Ballium.*
7. *Inner Ballium.*
8. *Keep or Dungeon.*



Section of the Wall of the Ballium

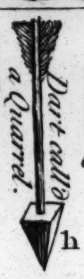


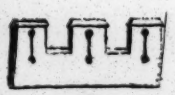


Section & Plan of Machicolation.



Perspective of Machicolation.

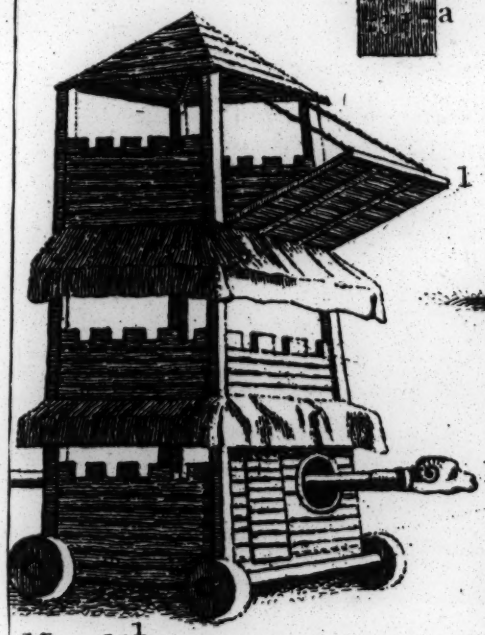




Crenelles and Oillets.



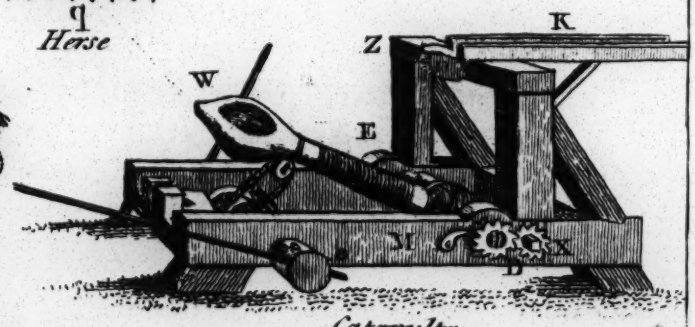
Herse



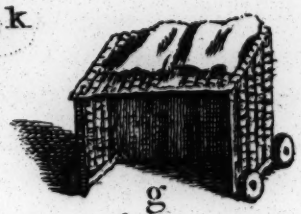
Moveable Tower with Bridge and Battering Ram.



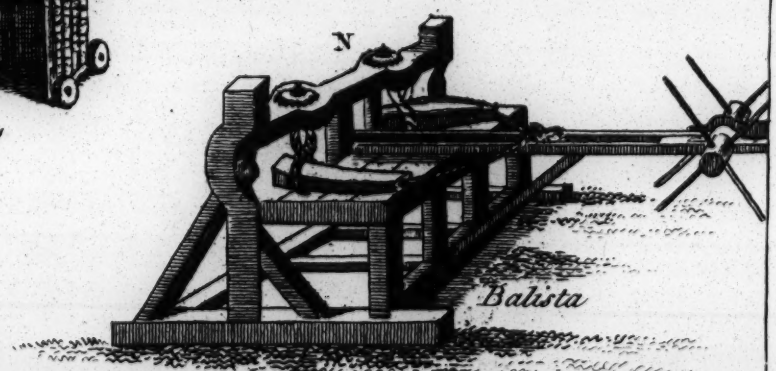
Sow



Catapulta



Cattus



Balista



Oniger or Scorpio

Darts for the Balista.

Winch for P *bending the Balista.*

MACHINES OF WAR.

12 JUL 73

throwing stones, and other great masses, and probably of the same mechanism, but differently called, according to the magnitude of the weights they projected, as was the case in our ancient artillery, where, according to their caliber, the pieces were stiled, cannon, demi-cannon, calverin, saker, robinet, falcon and base. The espringal (y) threw large darts, called muchettæ, sometimes, instead of feathers, winged with brass.

Of the vast force of these machines, (z) surprising stories are related. No wall, however thick, was able to resist their stroke; and in the field, they swept away the deepest files of armed men. With them were thrown not only large millstones, but sometimes the carcases of dead horses, and even living men. The former

quæ tam de die, quam de nocte, in castrum capacii projicere non cessabant. *Matt. Paris, an.* 1246.———D'un trabukiet fit trabukier, mult grant partie de lor murs. *Philippus Moushes in Phil. Augusto.*———Otto imp. ab Apulia & Italia reversus obsedit oppidum Visense, quod similiter expugnavit usque ad arcam.———Ibi tunc primam cæssit haberi usus instrumenti bellici quod vulgo tribock appellari solet. *Fragmentum Hist. post. Albert. Argentim. an.* 1212. ———Withouten stroke it mote be take of trepeget, or mangonell. *Chaucer Roman. of the Rose,* 6278.———This machine took its name from the word trebuchare, to throw down, according to the Latin of those times; or from trabucher, to outweigh, as its manner of working might be by means of great weights.

The warwolf is thus mentioned from Mat. Westm. by Camden, in his Remains, speaking of king Edward the first: "At the siege of Stivelen, where he, with another engine, named "the warwolfe, pierced with one stone, and cut as even as a thread, two vauntmures; as he "did before at the siege of Brehin, where Thomas Maule, the Scotsman, scoffed at the Eng-"lish artillerie, with wiping the walle with his handkerchief, until both he and the wall "were wiped away with a shot." Again, in his Britannia, relating the siege of Bedford: "Concerning these mangonels, petraries, trabucces, bricoles, espringolds, and what our an-"cestors called the warwolf, out of which, before the invention of bombs, they threw great "stones, with so much force as to break open strong gates; concerning these (I say) I have "several things to add, if they were not foreign to my purpose."——Jussit rex arietem fabricari, quem Greci Nicontam vocant, quasi vincentem omnia, & lupum belli. Verum aries indecens & incompositus parum aut nihil profuit: lupus autem belli, minus sumptuosus inclusis plus nocuit. *Matt. Westminster, ann.* 1304.

(y) Espringal balista validior que telum emittitur. *Du Cange.*———Muschetta telum quod balista validiori emittitur. *Du Cange.*—Potest preterea fieri quod hæc eadem balistæ tela possent trahere quæ muschettæ vulgariter appellantur. *Apud Senatum, lib.* 2. *part* 4. *c.* 22.——Et font getter leur springales.

Ca' & la sonnent li clarain
Li garrot empené d'arain. *Guiart l'an.* 1304.

(z) Compositis autem ab ingeniosis pisanorum artificibus manganis, gattio atque lignus castellis, urbem fortitur expugnabant; et cum his machinis urbis mœnia & mœnium turres potentissimæ rumpebant.

according to Froissart, (a) was practised by John duke of Normandy, son of King Philip de Valois, when he besieged the count de Hainault, in Thyn-Leveque, in the Low Countries, and whom he thereby obliged to capitulate, on account of the infection caused in the town; and, as Camden says, (b) it was also done by the Turks at Negroponte.

The other, namely, throwing a living man, is also mentioned by Froissart. (c) It happened at the siege of Auberoche, in Gascoigne; where the English, being closely pressed by the count de Laille, lieutenant general to Philip de Valois, they sent out an esquire, with a letter, which he was to endeavour to deliver to the earl of Derby, their general; but, being taken, his letter was read, and afterwards tied round his neck; and he, being put into an engine, was thrown back into the castle, where he fell dead among his companions.

They were also sometimes used for the execution of persons condemned to die: (d) perhaps somewhat like the method practised in the East Indies; where military criminals are tied fast to, and fired from the mouth of a cannon: though, in the case mentioned by the note here alluded to, probably the unhappy sufferer was only fixed to this machine, in order to be more conveniently tortured.

Moveable towers are repeatedly mentioned, (e) as much in use, particularly by the English. Froissart is very circumstantial in his account of one, (f) used at the siege of Reole, by the earl of Derby; who having laid before that place nine weeks, caused two towers, three stories high, to be built with large beams. Each tower was placed on four small wheels, or trucks, and toward the town covered with boiled leather, to guard it from fire, and to resist the darts: on every story were placed an hundred archers. These towers were pushed, by the force of men, to the

(a) Froissart, vol. 1. chap. 50.

(b) Camden's Remains. *Vide Artillery.*

(c) Froissart, vol. 1. chap. 107.

(d Primitus eum ligaverat, proh dolor, ad machinam instructam, quam vulgo mangonam appellant. *In Passione. S. Thyomonis Archiepiscopi Juvenensis.*

(e) Vide Pere Daniel Hist. Milice, Fr. tom. 1. p. 558.

(f) Froissart, vol. 1. chap. 18, 19.

city

city wall; the ditch having been filled up, whilst they were building. From these the soldiers, placed in the different stages, made such vigorous discharges, that none of the garrison, except such as were extremely well armed, or covered with large shields, dared to shew themselves on the rampart. He likewise mentions another of these machines, (g) with which the English, (h) under John de Holland, and Thomas de Percy, took the town of Ribadana, in Gallicia; and so terrified the garrison of Maures, (i) that

(g) Environ quatre jours aprés ce que messire Jehan de Hollande et messire Thomas de Percy furent venuz en lost du mareschale eurent chevaliers et escuyers et toutes géns ordonné ung grant appairellement d'essault & eurent fait faire ouvrer & charpenter ung grant engin de boys sans roes que on pouvoit bien mener & bouter a force de gens la ou on vouloit & dedans pouvoit bien aséement cent chevaliers et cent archers, mais par assault archiers y entrerent. Et avoit on remply aux fossez a l'endroit ou l' engin devoit estre mené. Lors commenca l'assault et approcherent les engins a force de boutemens sur roes et lá estoient archiers bien pourveaux de Saiettes qui tiroient a ceulx de dedans de grant facon, et ceux de dedans gettoient a eux dardes de telle maniere qui c'estoit grant merveille. Dessoubz avoit manteaulx couvers de fors cuirs de beufz & de vaches pour le gect des pierres & pour le traict des dardes. Et dessoubz ces manteaulx a la couverture se tenoient gens d'arms qui approchient le mur, lesquelz estoient bien paveschez et piquoient de piez, et de hoyaulx au mur, et tant firent quilz empirerent grandement le mur, car les defendans ny pouvoient entendre pour les archiers qui vivement tyroient et qui fort les ensoignoient. La fist on reverser ung pang du mur et cheoir es fossez. Quand les galiciens qui dedans estoient virent le grant meschief si furent tous esbahiz et crierent tout hault, nous nous rendons, nous nous rendons, mais nul ne leur respondit, et avoient les Anglois bon ris de ce quilz veoient & disoient. Ces villains nons ont battuz et fait moult de paine et encores se mocquent ils de nous quant ilz veulent que nous les recuillons a mercy et si est la ville nostre. Nenny responderent aucuns des Angloys, nous ne scavons parler Espaignol, parlez bon Francois ou Anglois si vous voulez que nous vous entendons. Et toujours alloient ilz et passoient avant et chassoient ces villains qui fuyoient devant eulx et les occioient a monceaulx, et ye eut ce jour mors que dungs et dautres parmy les Juifz dons il y avoit assez plus de xv cens. Ainsi fuit la ville de Ribadane gagnée a force. Et y eurent ceaulx qui premier y entrerent grant pillage, et par especial ils trovverent plus d'or et dargent es maisons des Juifz que autre part. *Vol.* 3. *feu.* 12.

(h) Temp. Richard II.

(i) Or se deslogerent de Ribadane & cheminerent vers la ville de Maures en Galici & faisoient mener par membres le grant engin quilz avoient fait charpenter aprés eux, car ilz veorent bien que cestoit ung grant espouentail de gens et des villes. Quant ceulx de Maures entendirent que les Anglois venoient vers eulk pour avoir leur ville en obeysance & que Ribadane avoit esté prinse a force & les gens mors dedans et fasoient les Anglois amenas aprés eulx ung dyable dengin si grant & si merveilleux que on ne le pouoit destruire. Si se doubterent grandement de lost et de ce grand engin. Et se trayrent en conseil pour savoir comment ilz se maintiendroient, ou si ilz se defendroient. Eux conseillez ilz ne pouvoient veoir que le rendre ne leur vaulsist mieulx assez que se deffendre, car se ils estoient prins par force ilz perdroient corps & avoir: et au deffendre, il ne leur apparoissoit conforte de nul costé. Regardez disoient les saiges comment, il est prins de leur defense á ceulx de Ribadane, qui estoient bien aussi fors ou plus que nous sommes. Ilz ont eu le siege prés d'un mois &

ne

that they did not wait to be summoned, but sent a deputation to offer their submission: see the account, in his own words. Here it appears, that whilst the archers in the tower, by their assaults, employed the attention of the garrison on the ramparts, the armed men, with pickaxes and other instruments, destroyed the wall. These towers had also sometimes bridges from the upper stories; which, being let down upon the parapet, made a passage into the town. When the ram was in use, it frequently was placed in the ground-floor of this machine; where the men worked it, under the cover and protection of the archers and cross-bow men above them.

The cattus, (k) cathouse, or gattus, was a covered shed, occasionally fixed on wheels, and similar to the vinea and pluteus of the ancients. Under it the besiegers filled up and passed the

ne les a nulz renfortes ni secourus. Le roy de Castille, a ce que nous entendons comte pour ceste saison tout se pays de Galice, a perdu jusque a la riviere de dorne, ne ovus verrez la de ceste asnée entrer Francoys. Si nous rendons donc de bonnairement sans dommage, & sans riote en la forme & maniere, que les autres villes ont fait c'est bon dirent ilz. Tous furent de ceste opinion, et comment ferons nous dirent aucuns, en nom de Dieu dirent les plus sages nous irons sur le chemin, a l'encontre deux et si porterons les clefs de la villa avecques nous et les leur presenterons, car Anglois sont courtoises gens. Ilz ne nous feront nul mal, mas ilz nous recueilleront doulcement, & nous en scauront trop grant gré. A ce propos se tindrent tous. Adonc issirent hors cinquante hommes de la ville dessus nommée, tous de plus notables de la ville, si tost quilz sceurent que les Anglois approchoient, et se mirent sur le chemin entre la ville et les Anglois, et portoient les clefs de la ville avecques eulx. Et la ainsi comme au quarte dunelieue ils attendirent, les Anglois qui approchoient. *Vol.* 3. *fol.* 13.

(k) Vineas dixerunt veteres, quos nunc militari barbaricoque usu cattos vocant. *Vegetius, lib.* 4, *cap.* 15.——Catti ergo sunt vineæ, sive plutes, sub quibus miles in morem felis: quam cattum vulgo dicimus, in subsessis aut insidiis latet. *Du Cange.*——Hic faciunt reptare catum, tectique sub illo suffodiunt murum. *Willielmus Brito, lib.* 7, *Phillipid.*

Devant boves fu l'ost de France,
Qui contre les flamans contance;
Li mineur pas ne soumeillent,
Un chat bon et fort appareillent;
Tant euvrent dessous & tant cavent,
Qu' une grant part du mur distravent. *Guillelmus Guiart in Phillippo Augusto.*

Interim rem in desperato ponentes Leodini, quoddam instrumentum ligneum ex trabibus immensae magnitudinis construentes, quod cattum nuncupant, substratis artificiose rotis ligneis ad diruendos muros, trajecti & oppidi wick minare caeperunt. *Zantffliet in Chronico apud Marten, to* 5. *col.* 389. Gatus, quippe viam per medium fossatum faciens jam antea prope murum ipsius castri præcesserat; in ipso enim gato quædam trabs ferrata, quam bercellum appellabant, constabat, quam ipsi, qui infra ipsum gatum fuerant foras plus de viginti brachiis projicientes, in murum ipsius castri mirabiliter feriebant, ac tandem tantum jam ferierant, quod de ipso muro plus de viginti brachiis in terram projecerant. *Murator, to* 6 *col.* 1041.

ditch,

ditch, sapped or mined the wall, and sometimes worked a kind of ram. It is probable, this machine, in different countries, might vary a little in its size and form; but its essential properties and uses were the same. Some of these catts were crenellated, that is, had crenelles and chinks, from whence the archers and cross-bow men might shoot their arrows and quarrells, these were then called, chatz-chastillez, or castellated catts, and are mentioned in Joinville's History of St. Louis. Sometimes these were made with a salient angle, by which the arrows and stones thrown against them, striking obliquely, glanced off, or had less effect.

The sow was also a covered machine for the same purpose, (l) and of much the same construction, but probably less. It was called, in Latin, sus, scropha and truja; from its being used for rooting up the earth, like a swine; or because the soldiers contained therein, were like pigs under a sow. This was alluded to by the countess, who defended the castle of Dunbar against Edward III. when she threatened, that unless the Englishmen kept their sow better, she would make her cast her pigs. Camden, who mentions this circumstance in his Remains, says, "The sow is yet used in Ireland." Two machines of this kind, one called the boar and the other the sow, were employed by the parliamentary forces, in the siege of Corfe castle, in Dorsetshire.

The ram is so well known, (m) that a description of it would be unnecessary. It was sometimes, though not frequently, in the later times,

(l) Sus, machina bellica, quæ & scropha, gallis truis. *Du Cange.*——Unum fuit machinamentum, quod nostri suem, veteres vineam vocanti, quod machina levibus lignis colligata, tecto, tabulis, cratibusque contexto, lateribus crudis coriis communitis, protegit in se subsidentes, qui quasi more suis ad murorum suffodienda penetrant fundamenta. *Willel. Malmsbur. lib.* 4. *Hist.*——Dum quidam nobiles, ligneis obumbrati, machinis, quæ, quia verrere videbantur n antra: sues appellari non videtur inconsonum. *Elnham in viata Hen. V. Reg. Angl. cap.* 59. *p.* 153. Quandam machinam, quæ sus appellatur, per quam & plures armati defendi, & fossata tellure repleri possent, fabricari fecit. *Ibidem. cap.* 122. *p.* 317.——Machinas ad sufficiendum murum habiles & necessarias quas vulgo scrophas appellant. Truja machina bellica. Gallis truie ita dicta, quod humum, ut sus, subvertat. *Du Cange.*

(m) Arietes, vulgo carcamusas, resonatos dimesere duos. *Abbo de Obsid. Paris, lib.* 2. ——Dr. Desagaliers has demonstrated, in the Annotations on his second Lecture on Experimental Philosophy, that the momentum of a battering ram, twenty-eight inches in diameter, one hundred and eighty feet long, with a head of cast iron, of one ton and a half; the whole

times, used. We find it mentioned in the siege of Paris, which happened about the year 886: it is there called aries carcamusus. It also occurs in the notes relative to the warwolf and cattus. Father Daniel says, (n) the use of it was left off in France, long before the invention of cannon. It is however mentioned, in a passage of Froissart, as employed in the time of Philip de Valois, cotemporary of Edward III. at the attack of St. Amand in Flanders, by the count of Hainault: but this he thinks rather the extemporaneous idea of the engineer, than the application of a machine then in fashion. It is however certain, the Venetians used it at the siege of Zara, which happened about the same time, i. e. anno 1345.

Mines, before the use of gunpowder, were, as has been before observed, of two sorts: one, where the assailants simply dug themselves a passage under the walls of the place besieged; the other, where a breach was intended. In both cases, by degrees, as the earth was removed, the top of the gallery, or passage of the mine, was supported by planks, propped up with strong posts; and, in the latter, the work being carried under the wall or tower proposed to be thrown down, these props were smeared over with pitch, rosin, or other combustible matters; and likewise faggots of dry underwood thrown loosely about; which being set on fire, soon consumed the props; when the incumbent earth, wanting their support, fell in, and overthrew the building. Where the mine was of no great depth, these posts might be pulled away with cords, or chains. This

ram, with its iron hoops, weighing 41,112 pounds, and moved by the united strength of 1000 men, will be only equal to that of a ball thirty-six pounds weight shot point blank from a cannon.

(n) Pour ce qui est du belier, je crois que même longtems avant le cannon on ne s'en servoit guéres en France, j'en trove cependant un example dans Froissart sous Phillipe de Valois, lorsque le Compte de Hainhault attaqua la petite place de Saint Amand en Flandres: et donc fut la un, dit cet historien, qui dit, sire, en celuy endroit ne les aurions jamais; car la porte est forte et la voye etroite. Si cousteroit trop des vostres a conquerre: mais faites apporter de gros merriens ouvrés en manieres de pilots & heurtez aux murs de l'abbaye, nous vous certifions que de force on les pertuisera en plusieurs lieux, & se nous sommes en l'abbaye la ville est notre. . . Donc commanda le comte, qu'on fit ainsi; car pour li mieux on li conseilloit pour le tost prendre. Si quist grans merriens de chesne, qui furent tantoit ouvrez & agnisez devant, & s'évertuoient; & puis boutoient de grand randon contre le mur & tant verteusement, quils pertuiserent & rompirent le mur de l'abbaye en plusieurs lieux. *P. Daniel, tom.* 1. *p.*

kind

kind of mine was used by Philip Augustus, (o) at the siege of the castle of Boves, near Amiens, the first at which that prince was present. Father Daniel says, (p) he had always in his service a number of skilful miners; mines being one of the most successful methods of attack practised against the English.

The galleries of these mines were both higher and broader than those of the present times; being so large, as to admit of engagements hand to hand; (q) when the besieged, by countermines, as was

(o) P. Daniel, tom. 1, page 575. ——— (p) Ibidem.

(q) At the siege of Melun, by Henry V. King of England, and the Duke of Burgundy, anno 1420, when the mine was piereed almost to the walls.——" Les assiéges (dit Monstrelet, l. 1. p. 244.) contreminerent á l'opposite & les Anglois firent une barriere, ou combattirent le Roi et le Duc contre deux Dauphinois à coup de lances, & vindrent plusieurs Chevaliers & Ecuyers combattre á la dite mine." Comme ces combattans étoient armés de pied-en-cap, il falloit qui les galeries eussent au moins sept pieds de hauteur & autant de largeur pour que deux hommes possent y agir de front avec aisance. Il arrivoit souvent qu'on s'ydonnoit des defis, & que l'on convenoit de la maniere du combat. A ce même siege de Melun, que Barbasan defendoit " on met un gros chevron en travers d'une mine & hauteur de la poitrine, & il étoit defendu que nul ne possat par dessus ni, pardessous." Plusieurs Compions des deux partis s'y presenterent successivement & combatterent avec l'epee " ou la hache. Quand on faisoit un Chevalier pendant une siege & que l'on travailliot pour miner la muraille de la Ville, le Recipiendaire, au lieu de faire a veille d'armes dans une Chapelle, selon la coutume, la faisoit dans la mine, ou il possoit la nuit avec une ancien Chevalier." *De Maizray sur l'Art des Sieges, p.* 229.——La siege tenant devant Reims estoient ses seigneurs, les contes & les barons, es pays de la marche de Reims, siccomme vous avez oui compter cy dessus pour mieulx estre a leur ayse et pour garder les chemins que nulles pourveances n'entrassent en la dicte cité dequoy, ce chevalier messire Barthelemy de bonnes a grant barronie d'Angleterre estoit a tout sa charge & sa route, de gens d'armes & d'archiers, logez a comercy ung moult bel chastel qui est a l'archevesque de Reims, lequel archevesque y mist en garnison le chevalier dessus nommé, et aussi plusieurs bons compagnions pour le garder et deffendre contre leurs enemys. Ce chastel ne doubtoit nul assault, car il y avoit une tour carèe mallement grosse et espesse de mur et bien garnie d'armes de deffence. Quant messire Barthelemy qui le chastel avoit assiegé l'eut bien advisé et consideré sa force, et la maniere que par assault, il ne le pourroit avoir il fist appareiller une quantité de mineurs quil avoit avec luy & a ses gages & leur commanda, quilz fissent leur devoir de la fortresse miner & que bien il les payeroit, lesquelz respondirent quilz le feroient tres volontiers. Adonc entrerent les ouvriers en leur myne et minerent continuellement nuit et jour en firent, tant quilz vindrent moult avant soubz la grosse tour, et a la mesure quilz minoient ilz estanconnoient et nen scavoient riens ceulx dedans. Quant ilz furent au dessus de leur mine tant que pour faire renverser la tour quant ilz voldroient, ilz vindrent a messire Barthelemy de bonnez & ly dirent. Sire nous avons tellement appareiller nostre ouvrage, que ceste grosse tour tresbuchera quand il vous plaira. Or bien respondit le chevalier, n'en faictes plus sans mon commandement, & ceulx dirent volontiers. Adonc monta le dit chevalier, et emmena ichan de guistelle avecques luy qui estoit de ces compaignons, et se vindrent jusques au chatel. Messire Barthelemy feist signe quil vouloit parlementer a ceulx de dedans. Tantost messire Henry se tira avant & sen vint aulx

was then the practice, attempted to drive out the assailants. Mines of this sort remained in use till the reign of Louis XII. Froissart gives a very curious and circumstantial account of one of them.

Of artificial fireworks, used both by the besieged and besiegers, history relates many instances: but what these fireworks were, is not clearly expressed. The historians of the Crusades speak of a composition, called Greek wildfire, used by the Turks. One of these historians, Geoffry de Vinesauf, who accompanied King Richard I. to those wars, says of it, "With a pernicious stench and livid flame it consumes even flint and iron; nor could it be extinguished by water; but by sprinkling sand upon it, the violence of it may be abated; and vinegar poured upon it, will put it out."

Joinville in his history of St. Louis, describes the appearance and effect of this fire, (r) of which he was an eye witness, when

aulx creneaulx et demanda quil vouloit. Je veuil dist messire Barthelemy, que vous vous rendez ou vous estez tous mors sans remede. Et comment dist le chevalier Francoys qui se print a rire, nous sommes bien pourveus de toutes choses & vous voulez que nous rendons si simplement. Ce ne sera ia dist messire Henry. Certes si vous est ces informez, en quel party vous estes dit le chevalier Anglois, vous vous rendiz tantost a peu de parolles. En quel party sommes nous sire respondit le chevalier Francois. Vous ystrez hors respondit messire Barthelemy, & ic le vous monstreray par condicions et par asseurance. Messire Henry entra en ce traicte & creut le chevalier Anglois, & yssit hors du fort luy iveme tant seulement, et vint la ou messire Barthelemy, et Je hande Guistelles estoient. Si tost comme ils furent la venuz, ilz le menerent, a leur mine et luy monstrerent, comme la grosse tour ne tenoit plus que sur estancons de boys. Quant le chevalier Francoys veit le peril il dist a messire Barthelemy, certainement vous avez bonne cause ce que fait en avez, vient de grant gentilesse. Si nous rendons a vostre volonté. La les print messire Barthelemy, comme ses prisonniers & lest fist tous hors de la tour partir & ungz & autres & leurs biens aussi. Et puis fist bouter le feu en la myne. Si ardirent les estancons, et puis quant ilz furent tous hors la tour qui estoit mallement grosse ouvrit, et se partit en deux & renversa d'autre part. Or regardez dist messire Barthelemy, a messire Henry de Vaulz, et a celui de la fortresse, si je vous disoye verité. Sire ouy nous demeurrons voz prisonniers a vostre volonté, et vous remercions de vostre courtoysie. Car si Jacques bons homs eussent ainsi de nous, eu laudessus que vous avez or aine ilz, ne nous eussent mye faict la cause pareille, que vous avez. Ainsi furent prins ses compaignons, de la garnison, de commercy, et le chastel effondie. *Vol.* 1, *fouilliet*, 106.

(r) On croit communement que la poudre a eté trouvé par Berthold Schwartz, moine Allemand, dans le commencement du quatorzieme siecle, mais les effets du melange donc elle est composée etoient connus depuis long-temps. Le Moine Bacon, qui vivoit plus d'un siecle avant Berthold, en a parlé sans equivoque. Il est certain que les Chinois s'en servent depuis plus de deux mille ans; & que le feu grègeois de Coillinque, donné á l'Empereur Constantin Pogonat, n'etoit qu'une composition oú dominoient le soufre et le salpêtre. On peut voir lâ dessus une dissertation qui est a la sin de la dieuxieme portie de ma Traduction de l'Empereur Léon. *De Maizeray sur l'Art des Sieges, p.* 203. *Note.*

made

made use of by the Turks, against the French crusades under that king. He says it was thrown from the bottom of a machine called a petrary, and that it came forwards as large as a barrel of verjuice, with a tail of fire issuing from it as big as a great sword, making a noise in its passage like thunder, and seeming like a dragon flying through the air, and from the great quantity of fire it threw out, giving such a light that one might see in the army, as if it had been day. Such was the terror it occasioned among the commanders, that Gautier de Cariel, a valiant knight, gave it as his advice, that as often as it was thrown they should all prostrate themselves on their elbows and knees, and beseech the Lord to deliver them from that danger, against which he alone could protect them: this counsel was adopted and practised; besides which, the king being in bed in his tent, as often as he was informed that the Greek fire had been thrown, raised himself in his bed, and with uplifted hands, thus besought the Lord, "Good Lord God, preserve my people!" The effects of this fire does not seem to justify the great terrors it here occasioned. Some of their castellated cats were set on fire, but extinguished. This fire was thrown three times in the night from the petrary, and four times from a large cross bow.

Father Daniel says, this wildfire was not only used in sieges, but even in battles; and that Philip Augustus, king of France, having found a quantity of it ready prepared in Acre, brought it with him to France, and used it at the siege of Dieppe, for burning the English vessels then in the harbour. The same author tells the following marvellous story, of another composition of this sort. An engineer, named Gaubet, native of Mante, found the secret of preserving, even under water, a sort of burning composition, shut up in earthen pots, without openings: he was besides so excellent a diver, as to be able to pass a river under water. He availed himself usefully of this secret, to set fire to some thick pallisades that stopped up the entrance into the isle of Andely, which the army of Philip Augustus was then besieging, and which he took before he attacked Chateau Gaillard; for, whilst the enemy made an attack on the bridge, that prince had

built over the Seine, and as all the attention of the besieged was directed that way, Gaubert dived with his pots of firework, and, being arrived at the pallisades, he in an instant set them on fire. As boats were ready for the passage of the soldiers into the isle, it was surprised on that side, and the garrison of the castle obliged to surrender. (s)

In the reign of King John of France, the castle of Remorantin was also taken by the prince of Wales, through the means of artificial fireworks: (t) and, in 1447, the count de Dunois, besieging Pont Audemer in Normandy, which was defended by the English with great valour, set fire to the city by artificial fireworks, and then took it by assault.

The manner of using these fireworks was, by throwing them from petraries or cross bows, or fixing them to the great darts and arrows, and shooting them into the towns; a method frequently practised, both by the ancients, with darts and arrows, called falarica and malleoli; and used with good success by the English, the last war, in a naval engagement in the East Indies, between the squadrons of Monsieur D'Ache and Admiral Watson.

The progressive steps taken in attacking fortified places, and the methods opposed thereto, as anciently practised, were, allowing for the difference of engines, much the same as at present. In small towns or castles, the assailants threw up no works, but, having hurdles or large shields, called pavais, borne before them, advanced to the counterscarp; here some with arrows, slings and cross bows, attempted to drive the besieged from the ramparts; and others brought fascines to form a passage over the ditch, if wet, and scaling-ladders to mount the walls: the besieged, on their part, attempted to keep the enemy at a distance, by a superior discharge of their missive weapons; to burn the fascines brought to fill up the ditch; or to break or overturn the scaling ladders. In larger places, or strong castles, lines of circumvallation and contravallation were constructed; the former to prevent any attack or succour from without; and the latter to secure them

(s) P. Daniel Hist. de Milice Fr. tom. i. p. 276.
(t) P. Daniel, ibid.

from

from the sallies of the besieged. In both these, small wooden towers were often erected, at proper distances, called Bristegia, or rather Tristegia, (u) from their having three floors or stages.

When the garrison of the place was numerous, and a vigorous resistance expected, they often formed a blockade, by enclosing it with lines, strengthened by large forts, and sometimes even a kind of town. Of the first there is an instance in the reign of Stephen; when that king, being unable to take by force the strong castle of Wallingford, surrounded it with a line, strengthened by forts, the principal of which he called the castle of Craumer; he also cut off the passage of the garrison over the Thames, by erecting a strong fort at the head of the bridge. It was however held by Brier Fitz Comte, till relieved by Henry II. then duke of Normandy; who, on notice of the danger of this important place, set out from France, encamped before it, and encompassing these works with a line of circumvallation, to prevent Stephen from succouring them, besieged the besiegers: this brought on the conference and peace between those two princes. The latter is mentioned by Froissart, (v) as practised by King Edward III. at the siege of Calais; where, not content with blocking it up by sea, and making lines on the Downs, and at the bridge of Nieulay, he also built a kind of city of timber about the place besieged; where, says that author, there were palaces and houses, laid out in regular streets: it had its markets on Wednesdays and Fridays, merceries, shambles and cloth-warehouses, and all sorts of necessaries, which were brought from England and Flanders: in fine, every convenience was there to be had for money. Such was also the blockade made by the Turks, at the siege of Candia.

It seems doubtful whether any thing like approaches were carried on. It is more probable, that the besiegers took the opportunity of the night, to bring their engines and machines as near

(u) Dein vallo munire student, fossisque profundis
Omnem circuitum castrorum, nec minus alté
Per loca bristega, castellaque lignea surgunt
Ne subitó Saladinus eos invadere possit. *Guillaume le Breton, lib. 4, p. 272.*

(v) Froissart, vol. i. chap. 133.

the

the walls as possible: batteries were then formed and covered with an epaulement.

The mangonels and petraries began now to batter the walls, and the working parties to make the passage into the ditch, carrying hurdles and fascines, which, with their bucklers, served to shield them in their approach: they were supported by a number of archers, covered with large targets, arrow-proof, held by men particularly appointed for that service: these archers, by shooting into the crenelles, and other openings, scoured the parapet, and protected the workmen in their retreat for fresh fascines.

An easy descent being formed into the ditch, the cattus, or sow, was pushed forwards, where the men, under cover, filled up and levelled a passage for the moveable tower; which being thrust close to the walls, the archers, on the different stages, kept a constant discharge of darts, arrows and stones; the miners began to sap the wall, or it was battered with the ram. When the mine was finished, the props were set on fire: during the confusion occasioned by the falling of the part mined, which was commonly a tower, the assault was given, and the breach stormed. If there were more works, these operations were repeated. Where no moveable tower was used, both mines were made, and the ram worked under the cattus and sow.

On the other hand, the besieged opposed, for their defence, flights of darts and large stones, shot from their engines, with arrows and quarrels from their cross bows; sallies, wherein they attempted to burn or demolish the machines of their enemies; and mines under their moveable towers, in order to overthrow them. Upon the cattus and sow they threw monstrous weights to break, and wildfire to burn them.

Upon the front attacked, they placed sacks, filled with wool, which were loosely suspended from the wall; and to break the stroke of the ram, besides this, divers other contrivances were invented; such as nippers, worked by a crane, for seizing it; and sometimes they let fall upon it a huge beam, fastened with chains to two strong leavers.

Having thus mentioned the chief engines and methods anciently

ciently practised in the attack and defence of fortified places, it will not be foreign to the point, to say a word or two of the arms offensive and defensive then in use, the different kinds of troops of which our armies were composed, and the laws whereby they were governed.

The heavy cavalry, knights, or men at arms, were composed of the chief nobility and gentry, who held their lands by military service; they were completely cased in armour from head to foot, so as to be rendered, in a manner, invulnerable. The armour of a man at arms, till near the middle of the fourteenth century, (w) consisted of the following particulars; a loose garment stuffed with cotton or wool, called a gambeson, over which was worn a coat of mail, formed of double rings or mascles of iron, interwoven like the meshes of a net; this was called a hawberk; to it were fixed a hood, sleeves and hose also of mail; the head was defended with a helmet; and by a leather thong round the neck, hung a shield; the heels of the knight were equipped with spurs having rowels near three inches in length: over all these, men of considerable families wore rich surcoats like those of the heralds, charged with their armorial bearings. Men thus harnessed could have but small powers of action, and a knight overthrown was as incapable of escaping as a turtle turned on his back. The difficulty of supporting these heavy trappings, especially after the introduction of plate armour, is strongly marked by the regulations made at tournaments, where it was deemed reprehensible for a knight to disarm himself till the business of the day was over: this was calculated to accustom our youths by degrees, to sustain the weight and incumbrance of armour in the day of battle. The offensive arms were, lances, battle-axes, maces, and cutting swords; also a small dagger called misericorde; (x) but in their charges,

(w) Fauchet from Froissart says, armour made of plates of iron was not in common use till the year 1330.

(x) Encore avoit le chevalier un petit courteau nommé misericorde: pour ce que de ce ferrement volontiers estoient occis les chevaliers abbatus: et lesquels voyant telles armes en la main de leurs ennemis demandoient misericordè s'ils desiroient etre repitez de la mort. *Fauchet Orig. Mil. Francois, p* 34.

as is indeed the case with all cavalry, the success depended more on the strength of the horse than the efforts of the rider. Their horses were therefore of the strongest kind, and barbed or armed with iron or jagged leather, on the head, neck, chest, and flanks. There were besides these a kind of dragoons, called hobelers; these were infantry, generally archers or cross-bow men, mounted on hobbies or light horses; they never charged with the cavalry, but were occasionally used to reconnoitre, or to attack convoys; but in engagements, generally acted on foot; they were composed of the yeomanry of the country. The infantry consisted of archers, cross-bow men, and such as used bills, morris pikes, or halberts. The English archers were at all times considered as at least equal to any in the world, the long bow having ever been a favourite weapon with the English; and such was their attachment to it, that it kept its footing in our armies long after the introduction of fire arms. In the 13th year of the reign of Q. Elizabeth, an act passed, enforcing a statute of the 12th of Edw. IV. by which foreign merchants were obliged, under divers penalties and forfeitures, to bring in a certain number of bow staves, in proportion to the quantity of their other goods imported; the preamble to the act of Elizabeth recites, "that whereas the use of archery not only hath ever been, but also yet is, by God's especial gift, to the English nation, a singular defence of the realm;" and so late as the reign of Charles I. two different commissions were granted by that king for enforcing the practice of archery; also, according to Rushworth, on the parliamentary side, a precept was issued by the Earl of Essex, November 1st, 1643, to stir up the benevolence of well-affected people towards raising a company of archers for the service of the king and parliament; it was directed to Mr. Thomas Taylor, citizen of London, who was thereby authorised to raise the said company.

The English archers, besides their bow and arrows, were sometimes armed with a mall of lead with a handle of five feet long, their defensive armour was a head-piece, with a kind of loose garment of linen stuffed with wool, under which they wore a shirt of mail; and to protect them from the horse, every one carried a stake or two, pointed

pointed at both ends; which they stuck in the ground before them, the point sloping and presenting itself to the horses breasts. In sieges they were directed to make themselves large shields or rather portable mantlets, which covered them from head to foot, called pavoys or pavaces; these were held before them by one of their comrades, whilst they shot their arrows at the enemy on the walls.

The cross bow, called in law Latin balista, or manubalista, is by Verstegan said to be of Saxon original. Cross bows were, however, either disused or forgot, till again introduced by the Conqueror, at the battle of Hastings; they were afterwards forbidden (y) by the second lateran council, held anno 1139, under pain of an anathema, as hateful to God, and unfit to be used among Christians, in consequence of which they were laid aside during the reigns of Stephen and Henry II. but revived in France by Richard I. who was himself killed by an arrow discharged from that engine, at the siege of the castle of Chaluz (z): these bows shot darts called quarreaux, or quarrels, from their heads, which were solid square pyramids of iron; these were also sometimes trimmed with brass instead of feathers.

It appears from a record, that our kings had an officer, (a) stiled balistrarius regis; and that lands were held in capite of the king, by the service of presenting annually a cross bow, (b) and of finding thread, (c) to make a cross-bow string, as often

(y) Artem illam mortiferam & Deo odibilem ballistariorum et saggittarum adversus Christianos & Catholicos exerceri de cætero sub anathemate prohibemus. *Can.* 29.

(z) William Brito, in the Life of Philip Augustus, speaking of the death of Richard, puts the following words in the mouth of Atropos, one of the destinies:

Hac volo, non alia Richardum morte perire,
Ut qui Francigenis ballistæ primus usum
Tradidit, ipse sui rem primitus experiatur
Quamque alios docuit, in se vim sentiat artis.

(a) Balistrarius. Gerard de la warr is recorded to have been balistrarius domini regis, &c. 28 & 29 *Hen.* III.

(b) Walterius Gatelin tenet manierum de Westcourt, in villa de Bedinton in com. Surrey, in capite de domino rege reddendo inde domino regi per annum unam balistam precii xii. *Blount's Ancient Tenures.*

(c) Quædam terræ & tenementa in suburbia Cicestriæ in parochia Sancti Pancratii tenentur de rege in capite per servitium reddendi regi quandacunque venerit, per quandam venellam vocatam Goddestrete super mari australi, unum fucillum plenum fili crudi ad falsam cordam pro balista sua facienda. *Blount's Ancient Tenures.*

as

as he passed through a certain district. Cross bows, according to Father Daniel, were used by the English at the Isle of Rhee in 1627.

The dress and defensive armour of the cross-bow men, were much the same as was used by the archers.

In the earlier period of the British monarchy, the infantry not being archers were held in the lowest estimation; they were generally composed of the peasantry, servants, or the lowest order of the common people; their defensive arms were open helmets, called bacinets, (perhaps from their resemblance to basons), a short linen or leathern doublet, stuffed with wool or cotton, called a hoqueton or acqueton, and sometimes they carried a roundel or a target; their offensive arms were a sword, dagger, halbert, (d) gisarmes, black bill, morris pike or two handed sword, and occasionally in common with the archers, the leaden mallet; these arms, drawings of which are given in the plate, were used at the battle of Floddon Field, as appears from the following stanza in the old poem, describing that engagement, published by the Reverend Mr. Lamb:

Then on the English part with speed,
The bills stept forth, and bows went back,
The moorish pikes and malls of lead,
Did deal there many a dreadful thwack.

Besides the feudal troops, who were bound in consequence of their tenures to serve for a certain number of days, in case of invasion or an insurrection, every man, as well ecclesiastic as lay-

LXXII.

(d) Some made a mell of massey lead,
With iron all about did bind,
Some made strong helmets for the head,
And some their grisly gisarings grind.

LXXIII.

Some made their battle-axes bright,
Some from their bills did rub the rust,
Some made long pikes and lances bright,
Some pitchforks for to join and thrust. *Floddon Field.*

man

man between the age of sixteen and sixty was liable to be called forth to arms: and several instances occur in the reigns of Edward III. and Richard II. (e) wherein mandates were issued to the archbishops, directing them to assemble the clergy of all denominations within their provinces, between the ages above mentioned, to arm, array and regiment them, and hold them in readineſs for service. Added to the forces here mentioned, from the time of Harrold downwards, mercenary troops have been entertained by almost every one of our monarchs.

The most ancient code of military laws for the government of the English army, which has been handed down to us, is that of King Henry V. enacted at Mance; this, with some additional articles made by the earl of Salisbury, are preserved in the Library of the Inner Temple. (f) As matters of great curiosity, they are here inserted at large, in the words, spelling, and abbreviations of the originals: there is another copy in the British Museum. These laws do not differ so greatly from those now in force, as might on a slight consideration be supposed; but subordination, good order in camp and quarters, the preventing of desertion and false musters, with safety for persons bringing provisions to the army, being immutably necessary to the very existence of every army, muſt therefore always be strongly enforced, both by rewards and punishments, and will ever give a striking similarity to the chief articles in the military code of every age and every nation.

Nicholas Upton, first a ſoldier in France under the earl of Salisbury, and afterwards about the year 1452, a canon of Salisbury, has in his book, entitled "De Studio Militari," printed a Latin copy of this code, (g) which though in substance the same as the English, contains some articles not there mentioned, and slightly differing in others; these differences and additions will be taken notice of in the notes.

(e) See Rymer, ann. 1369, 43 Ed. III. also 46th and 47th of the same reign and 1st Richard II.

(f) A MS. of Mr. Petyt's, entitled Collectanea, vol. 1. folio, p. 509 & seq.

(g) In the exordium to this code it is said to have been made with the advice of "our peers, lords, and nobles," in order that every one might be shewn the proper path, and also that the constable and mareschal of the army might be enabled the more prudently to determine in the causes daily brought before them.

ORDINANCES FOR WARRE, &c.

AT THE

TREATE AND COUNCIL OF MANUCE.

OBEYSAUNCE.

First, That all manner of men, of what soever nacon, estate, or condicon soever he be, be obeysant to our soveraigne lord the king, and to his constable and marshall, upon payne of as much as he may forfeite in bodie and goodes. (h)

FOR HOLY CHURCHE.

Alsoe, That no man be soe hardy, unlesse he be a priest, to touch the sacrament of Godes body, upon the payne to be hanged and drawen therefore; nor that noe man be soe hardy to touch the bode or vessell in which the sacrament is in, upon the same payne; alſo that noe manner of man be soe hardie to robbe or pill holy church of noe good, nor ornament longinge to the churche; nor to sley any man of holye church, religeous nor none other, but if he be armed, upon payne of death; nor that any man be soe hardie to sley or enforce any woman upon lyke payne, and that noe man take noe man nor woman of holy church prisoner, nor other religeous pson, except they be armed, upon payne or imprisonment, and his bodie at the kings will.

FOR HERBERGAGE.

Alsoe, That noe man be soe hardy to goe before, in the battayle under the banner or penon of his lord or maihter, except

(h) Also all soldiers and other persons receiving wages to be obedient to their immediate captains or masters, in all things legal and honest. All merchants travelling with the army, or buying or selling in the markets thereof, to obey the constable and mareschal, and even the clerk of the market, as they would the king. And all offences and suits whatsoever, respecting the followers of the army, to be tried and determined by the judgment of the constable, or in his absence by the mareschal. Theſe followers are specified under the following whimsical arrangement: "Whether soldiers or merchants, or handy crafts, such as shoemakers, taylors, barbers, physicians or washerwomen, and also our scouts especially appointed."

herberges,

herberges, (i) the names of whome shall be delyvered, and take to the constable and marshall, by their said Lord and Mrs. upon his payne, viz. he that otherwise offendethe shall be put from his horse and harnesse, both unto the warder of the cunstable and marshall, unto the tyme that he that offendeth have made his fyne with the ſaid cunstable and marshall, and found suretie that he shall no more offend.

Alsoe, That noe man take noe herberges, but if it be by the disingment of the cunstable and marshall, or of the herberger; and that after tyme that the herbergage is assigned and delyvered, that noe man be soe hardie himself to remove, or to disaray, for any thing that may fall, without commandment of him that hath power, upon payne of horse and harnesse to be put in areste of the cunstable and marshall, to the tyme they have made fine with them, and moreover his bodie at the kings will.

FOR KEEPING OF WATCH AND WARDE.

Alsoe, That every man be obeysante to his captayne to keep his watch and his warde, and to doe all that longeth a souldier to doe, upon payne his horse and harnesse to be put in the warde of the marshall, unto the tyme that he that thus offendeth hath agreed with his captayne, after the warde of the courte.

FOR TAKINGE OF PRISONERS.

Alsoe, be it at the battayle or other deedes of armes, where that prisoners ben taken, he that first may have his fay shall have him for his prisoner, and shall not need to abyde upon him until the end of the journey, and none other shall take him for prisoner, but if that it be that the said prisoner be found from his defendaunt.

FOR ROBINGE OF MARCHAUNTS.

Alsoe, That noe man be soe hardy to pill ne robbe none other of victual, ne of none other livelode the which they have

(i) Herbergage, quarters. Herberger, a harbinger or quarter-master.

by

by livinge, upon payne of death; and that noe man robbe noe vitaller, marchaunt, ne none other pson cominge to the markett with victalls or other marchandize for ye refreshment of the hoste, upon the same payne; ne that noe man robbe from other, horse meate or mans meate, ne none other thinge that is gotten of enemyes goodes, upone payne his bodie to be arrest at the kings will.

FOR BARRETTORS.

Alſoe, That noe man debate for armes, prisoners, lodginge, ne for none other thinge, ſoe yat no ryot can take nor wast be in the hoste; ne yat noe man make him ptie in assemble of ye hoste nor none otherwise, and yat as well of principall as of oyer prties, upon payne of leesinge yeir horse and harnesse, till yey have made fyne with the cunstable, and their bodies to be arrest at the kinges will, and yf he be groom or page, he shall leese his left eare therefore; and if any man find him grieved, let him shewe his greivance to the constable or marshall, and right shall be done.

FOR DEBATE.

Alſoe, That noe man make noe debate nor contest for any hate of tyme past, ne for tyme to come, for ye wich hate, if any man be dead for such conteke or debate, he or yey that be pteners or encheson of ye death ſhall be hanged therefore; or if it happe yat any man escreye his owne name, or his captayne, lord or maister, to make a reyseinge of ye people, by ye wich affray might fall in ye hoste, he yat in such case a streith shall be drawen and hanged for his labour.

FOR THEM THAT CRYE HAVOKE.

Alſoe, That noe man be soe hardy to crye havoke, upon payne that he that is found beginner shall die therefore, and ye remnannte, yeir horse and harneses to be put in the warde of ye conſtable and marshall, unto ye time yey have made fyne with them,

them, and yeir bodies in prison at the kinges will, till yey have found surety yat yey shall no more offend. (k)

FOR UNLAWFUL ESCRIES.

Alsoe, That none escreye be wich is called mounte, ne none oyer unreasonable escrey be in ye hoste, upon payne that he yat is founde beginner of such unreasonable escry be put from his horse and harnesse, and his bodie in arrest of ye constable and marshall to the tyme he make his fyne with them, and his bodie at the kinges will and pleasure; and he yat certifieth who is the beginner, shall have a —— for his labour, of ye constable and marshall. (l)

FOR MUSTERS.

Alsoe, when it liketh the kinge to take musters of his hoste, that noe man be soe hardy to have other men at his musters yen those yat be with himself witholden for the same voyadge wyout fraud, upon payne to be holden false and reproved, and alsoe to loose his wages and pement that should longe to him. (m)

FOR PRISONERS.

Alsoe, if any manner deede of armes be, and any man be born to the earth, he yat first soe hath born him to the earth, shall have him to be prisoner; but if soe be yat another cometh

(k) Havoke, or havock, was probably a word signifying that no quarter should be given, or else implying a permission to plunder a town or camp; that it was something of this kind seems likely from the following exception in Upton's transcript of this article, "without special licence from the king," which implies that such licence was sometimes granted.

(l) Mounte, the vulgar English pronunciation of the French word montez, mount, or to horse, possibly a false or seditious alarm to the cavalry. In Upton this word is written mountee; and a reward of an hundred shillings of Tours, to wit, ten shillings English, is to be paid by the constable or marshall to any one who shall discover the beginner of this cry.

(m) Every captain, when duly required by the king or his commissary, to muster his men before them, and all commissaries in the said muster were commanded diligently to enquire after, and see that the soldiers had their proper armes, which was particularly to be observed respecting bows and arrows; and the commissary, if he thought it necessary, might compel the captain to answer upon oath. *Upton.*

after that, and taketh the fey of ye said prisoner, then the (n) sunter down shall have the one half and ye taker of ye faith thother half: but he yat taketh the faith shall have the warde of ye prisoners, makinge sufficient surety to his ptener for ye other half.

And if any man take a prisoner, and eny other man come upon him, askinge pte, meaning ells yat he would sley the said prisoner, he shall have no pte, though soe be that pte hath bin graunted him; and yf he sley the prisoner, he shall be arrested by the marshall, and put in warde till he have a fyne, after the awarde of ye constable.

FOR THE PAYINGE OF THIRDS.

Alsoe, That every man pay his thirdes to his captayne, lord and maister, of all manner wynninge by ware; and yat as well those that be not in sould but lodginge, under ye banner or penon of yeir captain, upon payne to loose his part of his foresaid wynninge to his captayne, and his bodye to be in ward of the marshall unto ye have agreed with his fore said maister. (o)

FOR THEM THAT MAKE THEMSELVES CAPTAYNES, TO WITHDRAWE MEN FROM THE HOSTE.

Alsoe, That noe man be soe hardy to rayse banner or penon of St. George, ne of none other, to drawe together the people, and to withdrawe them oute of the hoste, to go to one other pte, upon payne of yem that in such wise make themselves captens to be drawen and hanged, and they that follow him to have yeir heades smytten of, and yeir goods and heretages forfayted to the kinge.

(n) Sunter down, the person by whom the prisoner was thrown down. The person that had the keeping of the prisoner was bound to give sufficient security to his partner, for his share of the ransom. *Upton.*

(o) One third of these thirds belonged to the king, for which each captain was accountable at the exchequer. The captains who had indented to serve King Henry V. after his decease, 1 Henry 5. cap. 5. petitioned parliament, that this might be deducted out of the arrears of pay due to them. All persons following the army, to pay the thirds of their gains in war to the chief captain. *Upton.*

A STATUTE FOR THEM THAT BEARE NOT A BANNE OF ST. GEORGE.

Alsoe, that every man of what estate, condicon or nacon he be of our pty, bere a band of St. George suffisaunt large upon ye pyle, that he be wounded or dead in ye fault yereof, he yat him woundeth or sleyeth shall bear noe paine for him; and yat noe enemy beare ye said seigne, but yt he be prisoner, and in ye warde of his maister, upon payne of death therefore. (p.)

FOR THEM THAT ASSAULT WITHOUT LEAVE OF HIS MAISTER.

Alsoe, That no assault be made ne to strength by archer, ne by none other of the comons without ye presence of a man of estate. And if any assault be, and ye king, constable, or marshall, or any lord of the hoste send for to disturbe the said assault, that noe man be soe hardy to assault after, upon payne to be prisoned, and loose all his other profitt that he hath wonne by the said assault, and his horse and harneis in the warde of ye constable and marshall.

FOR TO BRINGE IN PRISONERS INTO THE KINGES KNOWLEDGE, CONSTABLE, OR MARSHALL.

Alsoe, If any man take any prisoners a none right as he is commen into the hoste, that he bring his prisoner unto his captayne or maister, upon payne of looseing his pte to his said captain or maister, and yen that his said captaine or maister bringe him within eight dayes to the kinge, constable, or marshall, or as soone as he may, soe yat he be not ladde noe oyer waye, upon payne to loose his pte to him yat shall enforme ye constable or marshall first of yt. And yt every doe keepe his prisoner yat he byde not or goe at large in ye hoste, ne in lodginge; but if ward be had upon him upon payne of loosinge ye said prisoner, reservinge to his lord or maister his thirds of the whole, that he be not

(p) This was for a distinction, the soldiers of those days not being dressed in uniform.

ptie

ptie of ye default, and ye second pte to him that first shall accuse him, and ye third part to the constable and marshall, and alsoe moreover his bodie in arrest at the kinges will. Alsoe yat no man suffer his prisoner to goe out of ye hoste for his ransome, ne for none other cause without saffe conduct upon the payne aforesaid. (q)

FOR KEEPINGE THE WATCHE.

Alsoe, That every man keepe dulie his watche in ye hoste, and yat with as manne men of armes and archers as to him shall be assigned, but yat he have a cause reasonable, and to abide upon his watche and warde the term to him lymitted, not deptinge from his watch no waye, but it be by the assignment or lycence of him by the wich the said watch is made, upon payne of smyting of his head that otherwise depteth.

FOR GIVINGE OF SAFFE CONDUCTES OR CONGRS, AND FOR TO BREAK THEM.

Alsoe, That noe man give safe conducts to prisoner, ne to none other, nor lycence noe enymie to come nor to goe out of the hoste ne into the hoste, upon payne to forfeit all his goods to the kinge, and his body in arrest at ye kinges will, except our liege l. ye king, constable or marshall. And yt noe man be soe hardy to breake our liege lord the kinges comanndment and saffe conduct, upon payne to be drawen and hanged, and his goods and heritages forfeat to the kinge; nor yet ye constable or marshall saffe conducte, upon payne of death.

(q) The intent of this article was to prevent the king and general from being defrauded of their share of ransome. Prisoners of a certain rank were the property of the general. In Upton there is the following clause respecting this regulation. "And if the prisoner so taken shall be his superior in one part of the army, and shall have from his sovereign permission to display his standard, or if the prisoner shall be of the blood royal, a duke, marquis, earl, or chief captain, then the said captain, be he whom he may, shall be the prisoner of the chief captain of that part of our said army, unless the taker of such prisoner shall be his equal or superior in arms or dignity, or such baron or notable soldier, who shall have before displayed his banner, the chief captain in that case shall agree with the taker, giving him a sufficient reward for his capture." Selden says, that by the law of arms, those captains whose ransom came to above 10000 crowns, belonged to the king.

FOR THE WITHDRAWINGE MENS SERVANTS FRO' THEIR MASTERS.

Alsoe, That noe man be soe hardye to take noe servannt of other men's, ye wich is in covenant with him for ye voyage, as well soldier, man of armes, archer, groome or page, after tyme he is —— or challenged by his maister, upon payne his bodie to be arreste to the tyme he have agreed with the ptie complaynant after ye warde of ye court, and his horse and harnesse to the constable and marshall, to the tyme he have made his fyne.

FOR DEPARTING FROM THE HOSTE WITHOUT LEAVE.

Alsoe, That noe man depte from the state without leave or lycence of his lord and maister, upon payne to be arrest and in ye ward of ye marshall, and at ye kings will of his life, and alsoe to loose all his wynninge of that daye, reserved to his lord or maister ye thirds of his wynninge, and to the lord of ye estate surplus of ye same wynninges wonne by him that same day, and soe from day to day till ye ordinance be kept.

FOR SCRIES MADE BY THE ENIMYES IN THE HOSTE.

Alsoe, if any escryes fall in the hoste when they be lodged, that every man drawe him to the kinge or his chieftaine of ye battaile where he is lodged, leavinge his lodginge sufficiently kept. But if ye enemies fall on that syde whereas he is lodged, and in his case he said capen shall abide here and all his men.

FOR KEEPINGE OF THE COUNTRYE.

Alsoe, if any countrey or lordshippe be wourd other by free will offered unto ye kinge obeysance, that noe man be soe hardy to robbe ne pill yerein after the peace is proclaymed, upon payne of death. And that any man, of what degree soever he be, come unto our said soveraign lord obeisance, that noe man take him, robbe him, ne pille him, upon ye same payne, soe that he or they that his wolle obey beare a token of our soveraigne lord the kinge.

FOR THEY THAT RANSOME THEIR PRISONERS, OR SELL THEM, WITHOUT LEAVE OF THEIR CAPTAINE OR LORDES.

Alsoe, That noe man be soe hardy to ransome or sell his prisoner, without especiall lycence of his captayne, the wch indenteth with the kinge under his letter and seale; and yat upon payne that he that doth the contrary thereof to forfeite his part in the prisoner unto his captayne, and he to be under arrest of the marshall to the tyme he have agreed with his captayne, and yat noe man bye no such prisoner, upon payne to loose the gold and silver that he payeth for him, and ye prisoner to be arrested to the captayne aforesaid.

A STATUTE FOR THE CHILDREN WITHIN THE AIGE OF FOURTEEN.

Alsoe, That noe man be soe hardy to take noe children within the age of 14 years, but if he be a lordes son, or else a worshipfull gentlemans sonne, or a captayne; and that as soon as he hath brought unto the hoste, or into the garrison where he is abidinge, that he bringe him to his lord, mr. or captayne, upon payne of loosinge his horse, harness, and his pte of ye same child, reserving unto his lord, mr. or captayne his dutye, soe yat they be not consentant unto his said default: and alsoe that ye said lord, mr. or captayne bringe him unto the kinge or constable within eight days uppon.

FOR WOMEN THAT LIE IN GESOM. (r)

Alsoe, That noe man be so hardy to goe into noe chamber or lodginge where that eny woeman lyeth in gesem, her to robbe ne pille of any goods wch longeth to her refreshinge, nor for to make noe defray where yrough she or her child might be in any disease or mispiere, upon payne that he in such wise offendeth shall loose all his goods, half to him that accuseth him, and half to the

(r) Women in child bed, or lying in.

constable

constable and marshall, and himself to dye, except the kinge give him his grace.

FOR THE RESISTINGE OF JUSTICE.

Alsoe, if any man be judged to the death by the kinge, constable, marshall, or any other judge ordinary, or any oyer office lawfull, that noe man be soe hardy to sett hand upon the condemyned, to resist the kinges judge, upon payne that if ye said condemyned be traytor, he yat is the chief to have ye same death that the condemyned is judged unto; and althoe that be pticipannte or consentinge, to have their heades smitten of: and if it be any other cause cryminall, the cause of the resisting to have the same death that ye same man being judged should have had, ye remnant at ye kings will.

FOR THEM THAT FORTIFIE PLACES WITHOUT LEAVE OF THE KINGE.

Alsoe, that noe man be soe hardie to edifie or strengthen any manner of place dysepered by the kinge or his councell, without especiall lycence or comandment of yem yat have power: and alsoe yat noe man compell the country, the wich is in ye obeysance or appatized unto our soveraigne lord the kinge, to come unto the donage, repacon, watch or warde of the said place, upon payne of looseinge horse and harneiss, and to restore again and make satisfaction unto the countrey where yat he hath offended, ye costs and damages, and moreover his bodie at the kings will.

FOR THEM THAT ROBBE AND PILL LODGINGES.

Alsoe, That noe man be soe hardy to robbe ne pill one others lodginge, after tyme it is appointed by ye herberges, ne to lodge yerein, without leave of him the wich the lodginge is affigned to, upon payne of imprisonment, after the warde of ye constable and marshall.

A STA-

A STATUTE FOR THEM THAT LET (s) LABOURERS AND MEN GOINGE TO THE PLOUGHE.

Alsoe, that noe man be soe hardy to take from any man goinge to the plouge, harrowe, or carte, horse, mare, nor oxe, nor any other best longinge to labour, within the kings obeisance, without leave and agreement with the ptie, upon payne of

and also that noe man give noe impedyment unto noe man of labour, payne of imprisonment until such tyme he have made a fyne after the award of ye constable and marshall.

FOR THEM THAT GIVE MEN REPROACHES.

Alsoe, That noe man give none reproch to none other because of the countrey that he is of, (viz.) be he French, English, Welch, or Irish, or of any other countrey whence that ever be: that noe man sey noe villane to none other, through ye wch villane sayinge may fall sodayne manslaughter, or reseinge of people, all such barrators shall stand at ye kings will what death they shall have for such noyse making.

FOR THEM THAT TAKE TRAYTORS AND PUT THEM TO RANSOME.

Alsoe, if any man take any enemye the wch hath been sworn and had billet, or any man which oweth legiance to our liege lord ye kinge, thatt is to wit, English, Walsh, Irish, or any other, that aſſoone as he is come to the hoſte or ellswhere, that he be brought to the warde of the constable and marshall, upon payne to have the same death yat the said traytors or enymie should have; and he yat any such bringeth in shall have tenne shillings of the kinge, constable or marshall for his travayle.

FOR THEM THAT BREAKE THE KINGES ARRESTE.

Alsoe, That every man obey unto the kings serveants, porters of places, or any other officers made by constables, marshalls, or

(s) To let, obſtruct, or molest.

by

by any officers comyſſed; that noe man be soe hardy to breake ye kings arreſt, upon payne to loose horse and harness, and his bodie at the kings will; and if ye mayme them or hurt them to die therefore.

FOR BRENNINGE.

Alsoe, without commandment special of the kinge, that noe man brenne upon payne of death.

FOR WATCHE WITHIN LODGINGE.

Alsoe, both day and night, that every captain have watch within his lodginge, upon payne his bodie to be arreſt till he made fyne or ransome with the kinge, and at the kings will.

FOR THEM THAT SHALL BE WASTERS OF VICTUALL.

Alsoe, if any man fynd wyne or any other victuall, that he take himself thereof as much as him needes, and yat he save the remnant to other of the hoste without any destruction, upon payne his horse and harnesse to be arrest till he have made fyne with the constable and marshall.

FOR A COPIE TO BE HAD OF THE PREMISES IN THE HOSTE.

Alsoe, That theis articles afore written the which that thinketh needful to be cryed in the hoste, he woole, that ye copy be given to every lorde and governor of mene in the aforesaid hoste, soe that yey may have playne knowledge, and informe their men of their aforesaid ordinances and articles.

FOR MAKINGE OF ROODES. (t)

Alsoe, That noe man make noe roodes by day nor night, but by lycence and knowledge of the captens of the hoste and warde, soe that ye captens may know what way yey drawe them, that

(t) Roodes, inroads, or expeditions to plunder.

they may have succour and helpe and neede be, upon payne of them yat offendeth their bodies and goodes at ye kings will.

FOR ROODES.

Alsoe, That noe captayne of noe warde graunt noe roods without lycence of our soveraigne lord the king.

THAT NOE MAN DISARAYE HIM IN THE BATTAYLE FOR NO SCRIE THAT COMETH IN THE HOSTE.

Alsoe, That for noe tydings ne for noe manner of scrie that maye come in the hoste, that noe man in disaraye out of ye battayle if the ryde, but by leave of ye chieftayne of ye battayle, upon payne that he yat offendeth shall be put from his horse and harness to ye warde of ye constable and marshall, unto the tyme he have made his fyne with them, and found surety that he shall noe more offend, and moreover his bodie to stand at the kings will.

OTHER ORDINAUNCES

Made by the EARL of SALISBURYE with others, &c.

FOR THE COUNTRY APPATIZED. (u)

FIRST, that noe man of armes, ne archer, of what estate, condicon or nacon, that ever he be, that they abide not, nor hold them under the colour of our said lord the earle, but that their captene be in this present assembly and company, and they be mustered and muster at all tymes that they be required, and also that they lodge them under the standard of their captene,

(u) The country appatised, districts which have paid composition or contribution, in order to ransom their towns from military execution.

and

and in such lodginge as is delyvered them by the herbergers, upon payne of loosinge horse and harneis, and their goods, moreover their bodies at the kinges will.

FOR FOREINGE THE SAID COUNTRY APPATIZED.

Alsoe, That noe man forrage in the country appatized, but if it be hey, ots, rye, and other necessary vitaylls, nor that noe man give unto his horse noe wheate, nor to gether none, but if it be only to make bread of; and if the said fforayers take any bestaill for their sustenaunce, that he take reasonable, and to make noe wast, nor for to devoure nor destroy noe vittayles, upon payne of loosinge horse and harnesse and goods, and their bodies at the kinges will; and alsoe that the said forrayners take nor sley noe great oxen, ne none milche kyen, but small bestiall, and that they accord with the ptie, upon the payne aforesaid.

FOR THEM THAT BYE OR SELL PILLAGE IN THE SAID COUNTRY, OR TAKE.

Alsoe, That noe man, souldier, marchaunt, or man usinge the warre, bye noe pillage, nor take none within the ground appatized, upon payne of death; and if soe be, that any man have any of the enimyes goodes, the which he woolle sell, that he bringe it into the comon markett, and proclaymed it by a officer of the marshalcie, or ells of the markett, upon payne the buyer to be in arrest of the marshall, to the tyme he have made a ffyne with the constable and marshall, and to lose all his money and gold that he hath payed for the same pillage, and the seller to loose horse and harneis, and his bodie at the kinges will.

FOR THEM THAT DESTROYE VINES AND OTHER TREES BEARINGE FRUITE.

Alsoe, That noe man beate downe hows'rs to brenne, ne none apple trees, peare trees, noote trees, ne none other trees bearinge

bearinge fruite, nor that noe man putt noe beastes into noe vynes nor drawe up the stakes of the same vynes, for to destroye them, upon payne to leese their said beastes, and themself in warde, unto the tyme they have made a fyne with the constable and marshall for the default.

FOR TO BERRY CAREN AND OTHER CORRUPTION IN SEGINE. (v)

Alsoe, That every Lo: captene, or governor of people doe compell their servants and ——— to be berry their carren and bowells about their lodgings and within the earth, that noe stinche be in their said lodginge, where thorowe that any pestilence or mortalitie might fall within the hoste, upon payne to make amendes at the king's will.

FOR THE TAKINGE OF PRISONERS OF MEN BULLETED. (w)

Alsoe, That noe man take noe prisoner of men bulleted of that said ground partized, nor noe man, nor childe, havinge bullet upon him, in payne to loose horse and armes, and their bodies at the kings will.

FOR DRAWINGE AWAYE BESTIALL OUT OF THE HOSTE. (x)

Alsoe, That noe souldiour goe fro' the hoste with noe bestiall, upon payne that is found in default shalbe prisoned, and loose the said bestaill, notwithstandinge in what place soever he take them, and he that them taketh or arrested shall have the half of the said beasts, and the kinge the other halfe, but if soe be he have leave of the constable and marshall, of the which leave he shall have a billett under the constables signett, and alsoe that he present up the nomber of the beasts, the which he dryveth.

(v) Probably lodginge, a camp or post being frequently stiled the lodginge of the hoste.

(w) Persons having passes, certificates, or some badge or mark, worn round their necks, like the Roman Bulla.

(x) Bestiall, cattle.

FOR TO MAKE STAKES AGAINST A BATTAYLE OR IOURNEY.

Alsoe, That every captayne doe compell their yeomen every man in all haste to make him a good ſubstantiall stake of a XI feete (y) in length, for certain (z) tieings that lords have heard, and in payne to be punished as hereto belongeth.

FOR MAKINGE OF FAGOTTES AT SEIGES FOR BOLWORKES AND DITCHES.

Alsoe, That every man make a good substantiall fagott of thirteen foot of length, without leaves, against (N) day next cominge, upon payne of loosinge a monthes waiges, and that as well the marchaunts, the which cometh unto the markett, as other souldiers, and also that every captene doe ley his fagotts apart, to that yntent that it may be scene whether he have his number of ffagotts after the company the which he leadeth.

FOR HOOLYE CHURCHE.

Alsoe, That noe man take from noe house of religeon, ne none other place havinge saufgondit, noe manner of goodes, ne vitaill, without accordinge and will of the wardens of the same place, upon payne to be arrest, and at the kings will of his life.

THAT NOE MAN SPEAKE WITH THEM IN THE CASTLE OR IN THE TOWN AFTER THAT THEY BE CHARGED.

Alsoe, That noe man be soe hardy to speake with them of the towne or of the castle from henceforth, upon payne to be chasticed at my lo: will.

(y) These stakes were planted before them like palisades, to keep off the cavalry.

(z) So in both copies, perhaps tydings, as an account of a large body of the enemy's cavalry ordered to attack them, on their march: indeed several articles in these ordinances made by the earl of Salisbury seem temporary orders.

ORDINANNCES FOR FORRAGERS IN PLACES DANNGEROUS.

Alsoe, That noe manner of mann goe for noe forrage, but it be with a stale, the which shall fourth twyce a week, that is to meet N day at N, upon payne to be chasticed at my lo: will.

FOR LADDERS.

Alsoe, That every seaven gentlemen or men of armes, make them a good sufficient ladder and a stronge of xv rouges, and that it be ready betwixt this and N day, upon payne to be chasticed at my lo: will.

FOR PAUISES. (a)

Alsoe, That every twoo yeomen make them a good pavise of bordes and of XX, in the best manner that they can devise, that one may hold that whiles the other doth shete, upon the payne.

FOR THEM THAT SAULT OR RENNERS TO MAKE THEM BOOTIE.

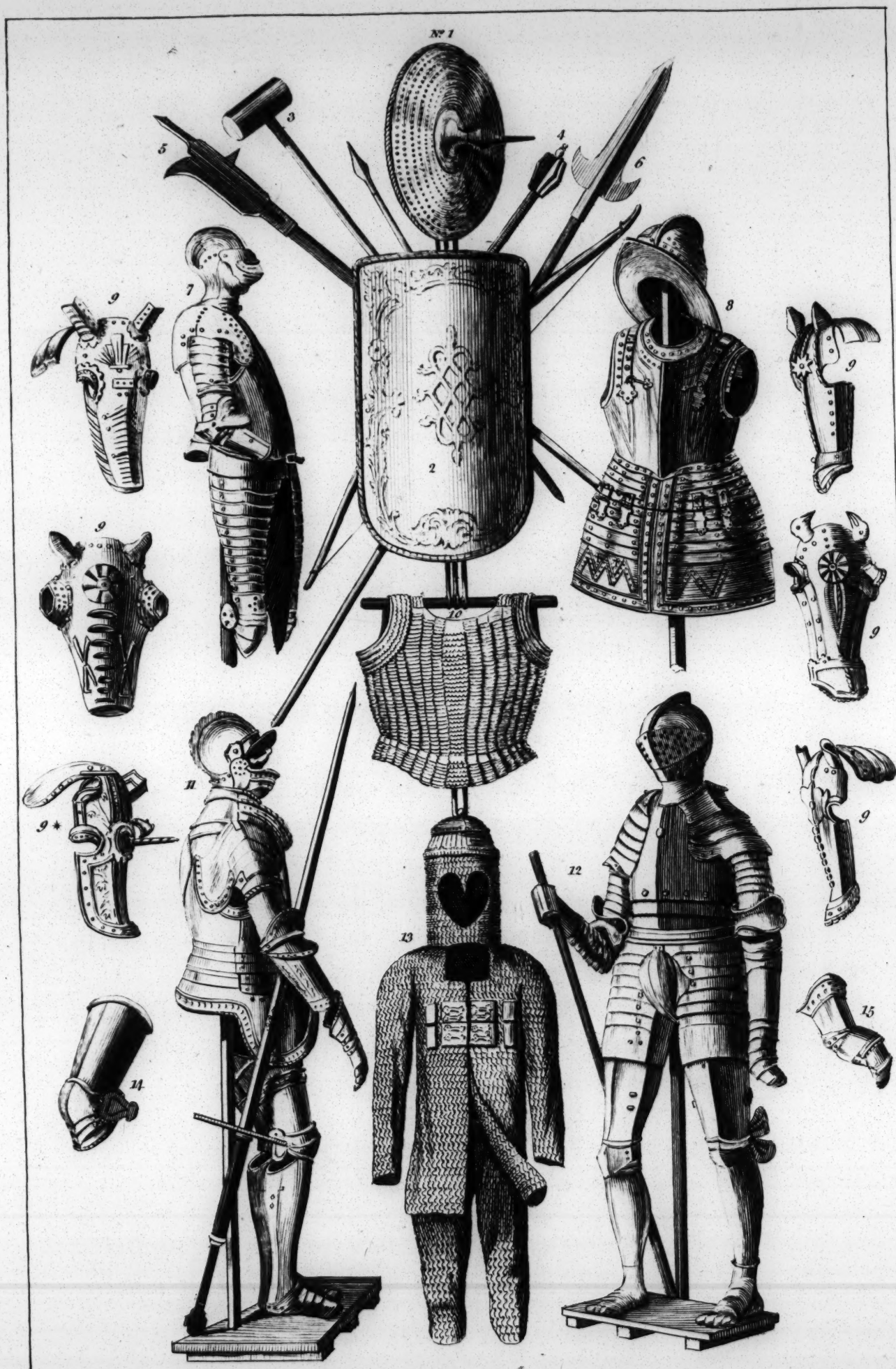
Alsoe, That all men make them boty VII or V together, and that three of the VII, or twoo of the V, be deseigned to waite and not to departe from the standards, upon payne to loose all the wynninges that may be wonne by him as that day, or by the ffellowship of him, halfe to the kinge, and halfe to him that accuseth him, and his bodie in pryson at the kings will; and that every captayne give me by N day all the names of his men as they be made in their botie, certifienge by name which be they shall abyde with the standards, and which shall doe there advantage.

FOR THEM THAT USE BORDELL, THE WHICH LODGE IN THE HOSTE.

Alsoe, That noe man have, ne hold any commen weomen within his lodginge, upon payne of loosinge a months wages; and

(a) Pavises were large shields, or rather portable mantlets, covering a man from head to foot.

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MUSEUM



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N. C. Goodnight sculp.

if any man fynd or can fynde any commen woman lodginge, my said lord commandeth him to take from her or them, all the money that maye be found upon her or them, and to take a staff and dryve her out of the hoste and breake her arme. (b)

(b) By this article in Upton, which occurs among those made by King Henry, it is ordered, that public and common whores be by no means permitted to remain with the army, especially during sieges of towns, castles and fortresses of any sort; but that they shall be stationed together within a distance not less than a league; this is to be observed in all cities hereafter taken and yielded to the king, any one found with the army after admonition, to be punished with the fracture of her left arm.

EXPLANATION

OF THE

PLATE OF ARMOUR.

No. 1. A Shield called a Roundel.

No. 2. A Target.

No. 3. A Leaden Mallet, used by the archers, mentioned in the military part of the preface.

No. 4. An Iron Mace, used by the cavalry. The original is in the Tower.

No. 5. A Black Bill, in the Armory of the Town Hall, Canterbury.

No. 6. A Pertuisan, in the Museum of Mr. Green, of Lichfield.

No. 7. A Suit of Armour, in the Tower of London, which it is pretended belonged to John de Curcy, earl of Ulster, confined there anno 1204, but probably is not so ancient; plate armour, as it is generally conceived, not being in use at that period.

No. 8.

No. 8. A Suit of bright Morion Armour, worn by the Infantry in the reign of Queen Elizabeth; it derives its name from the head piece stiled a Morion.

No. 9. Different Chanfrins or Cheiffronts, being masks of iron for defending the heads of horses; taken from the Horse Armory in the Tower of London.

No. 10. A Cuirass of Plate Mail, composed of small iron plates fastened one over the other, so as to yield to every motion of the body. The original is in the collection of curiosities at Don Saltero's Coffee House, Chelsea.

No. 11. A Complete Suit of Armour shewn in the Tower of London, and said to have belonged to John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, fourth son of Edward III. He died 1399.

No. 12. A Complete Suit of Armour in the Tower of London, made for Henry VIII. when he was but eighteen years of age. It is rough from the hammer.

No. 13. A Hawberk, or Suit of Chain Mail Armour, composed of iron rings. It consists of a helmet, coat and breeches. The original is in the Museum of Mr. Green, of Lichfield.

No. 14. Knee Piece called a Genouillere.

No. 15. A Gauntlet.

MONASTERIES.

THE era of the first institution of monasteries in England, is by no means ascertained: nothing can be more discordant than the accounts and opinions of our historians and antiquaries on this subject; some making them coeval with the introduction of Christianity into this island; which, it is pretended, was preached A. D. 31, by Joseph of Arimathea, and certain disciples of Philip the apostle. A very learned writer surmises, (a) that some converted druids became our first monks: others say, (b) there was a college or monastery at Bangor, in Flintshire, as early as the year 182; though this, with greater probability, is generally placed later by almost three hundred years.

The learned Bishop Stillingfleet, (c) and others, suppose the first English monastery was founded at Glastonbury, by St. Patrick, about the year 425; whilst, on the other hand, it has been doubted, (d) whether St. Patrick was ever at Glastonbury, any more than Joseph of Arimathea.

About the year 512, the British historians report, that St. Dubritius, archbishop of St. David's, founded twelve monasteries, and taught his monks to live, after the manner of the Asians and Africans, by the work of their hands. Camden thinks, that Congellus first brought the monastic life into England, towards the year 530; but Mr. John Tanner, editor of the Notitia Monastica, says, "It was certainly here before that time." These instances are sufficient to shew, that the exact period is not known.

The date of the first foundation of nunneries, or houses of religious women, in this country, is enveloped in the same obscurity. Some think them nearly of equal antiquity with those for monks. Leland says, Merlin's mother, who is reported to have lived about the year 440, was a nun at Caermarthen; and it is said, St. David's mother was a nun also. But the first English

(a) Sir George Macartney, in his Defence of the Royal Line of Scotland, p. 13.
(b) Archbishop Usher's Antiq. Eccl. Britan. folio, p. 69.
(c) Stillingfleet's Original of the British Churches, p. 184, 185.
(d) Vide Wharton, in his notes to Angl. Sacr. vol. ii. p. 92.

nunnery seems to have been that erected at Folkstone in Kent, by King Eadbald, A. D. 630: soon after which several others were founded; particularly that of Barking in Essex, anno 675; and about the same time, another by St. Mildred, in the isle of Thanet, A. D. 694. Abbesses were then in such great esteem for their sanctity and prudence, that they were summoned to the council of Beconsfield: the names of five are subscribed to the constitutions there enacted, without that of one abbot. Bishop Adian made Hien (afterwards foundress and abbess of Hartlepool) the first nun among the Northumbrians, A. D. 640. It was anciently a custom in Northumberland and Scotland, for monks and nuns to live together in the same monastery, but subjected to the immediate government of the abbess. This was the case at Whitby, Repiadon, Beverley, and Ely.

On the conversion of the Saxons and Northumbrians, a great number of monasteries were founded and richly endowed, particularly in the north, where many of the nobles, and even some kings and queens, retired from the world, and put on religious habits: but after the devastations made by the Danes, in 832, 866, and the three following years, these religious communities were almost eradicated. In the south there were but few monasteries remaining, and those chiefly possessed by the married clergy: Glastonbury and Abingdon still retained their monks, but at Winchester and Canterbury, in the reign of King Alfred, there were not monks sufficient to perform the offices; for which they were obliged to have recourse to the assistance of the secular clergy: (e) and according to Gervasius, the name of an abbot was then scarce known; and few then living had ever seen a convent of monks. Of the north, Simon Dunelmensis says, "After the devastation of that country, A. D. 867, by the Danes, who reduced the churches and monasteries to ashes, Christianity was almost

(e) J. Tanner, in his Preface to the Notitia Monastica, says, "To give some account of the secular clergy, who are so much spoken of in the ecclesiastical history of the Saxon times, and for the most part disadvantageously, because we have no account of them, but what is transmitted to us by their bitterest enemies, the monks, and such as favoured the monks; but who, if we knew the truth, might perhaps have lived as much to the glory of God, and the good

almost extinct; very few churches (and those only built with hurdles and straw) were rebuilt: but no monasteries were re-founded, for almost two hundred years after; the country people never heard the name of a monk, and were frighted at their very habit, till some monks from Winchelcomb brought again the monastic way of living to Durham, York, and Whitby."

In the reign of King Edgar, about the year 960, St. Dunstan was promoted to the see of Canterbury. He was a great restorer of

good of mankind, as those who spoke so much against them; and yet 'tis uncertain what the difference between the old secular canons and the monks was, for historians, by calling the houses of the monks, Collegia, and the houses of the secular canons, Monasteria, confound these two sorts of religious persons, and make the opinion of Wharton not unlikely, viz. that before the reformation by King Edgar and St. Dunstan, our monasteries were nothing but convents of secular married clergy. Nor is the marriage of monks and nuns, in those ages, unlikely; for Bede tells us, that in John of Beverley's time, the abbess of a monastery, then called Vetadun (since Watton) had a carnal daughter, who was a nun of that house. On the other hand, some of the seculars obliged themselves to the vows of chastity; and many of them observed some regular constitution: for the canons of Durham read the Psalms in the same order as was required by the rule of St. Benedict.

At Peykirk they observed the canonical hours of the monks, and took the vows of chastity and obedience: at Canterbury (as Gervasius observes) they wore the habit of the monks, and partly conformed to their rule: so that, in all likelihood, the terms of monks and secular canons were indifferently used, or with very little distinction, till King Edgar's time; when St. Dunstan enforcing a stricter observation of St. Benedict's rule, those that were willing to retain their wives and parochial cures, were termed secular clerks; and those were called monks or regulars, who quitted both, according to the constitution of that order."

A fruitless attempt was made, about the beginning of the eleventh century, to force these canons, and the clergy in general, to celibacy, by Aelfrick, archbishop of Canterbury. In the year 1076, the council of Winchester, assembled under Lanfranc, decreed, that no canon should have a wife: that such priests as lived in castles and villages should not be forced to put away their wives, if they had them: but such as had not, were forbidden to marry; and bishops were exhorted, for the future, not to ordain either priest or deacon, unless he first professed that he had no wife. In the year 1102, Archbishop Anselm held a council at Westminster, by which it was decreed, that no archdeacon, priest, or deacon, or canon, marry a wife, or retain her if married; that every subdeacon be under the same law, though he be not a canon, if he hath married a wife after he had made profession of chastity. Anselm, according to William of Malmsbury, desired of the king that the chief men of the kingdom might be present in council, to the end that the decrees might be enforced by the joint consent and care of both the clergy and laity; to which they assented. Thus the king, and the whole realm, gave their sanctions to these canons; yet it appears that the clergy of the province of York remonstrated against them; and those who were married, refused to part with their wives; and the unmarried to make a profession of celibacy: nor were the clergy of Canterbury more obedient. Anselm, therefore, in the year 1108, held a new council at London, in the presence of the king and barons, partly on this matter, where still severer canons were enacted. Those who had

of monastic foundations, and repaired many of the ruined churches and religious houses, displaced the seculars, and prevailed on that king to make a reformation of the English monks, in the council of Winchester, A. D. 965; when rules and constitutions were formed for their government; partly taken from the rule of St. Benedict, and partly out of the antient customs of our English devotees: this was called Regularis Concordia Anglicæ Nationis, and it is published, in Saxon and Latin, by the learned Selden, in

had kept or taken women since the former prohibition, and had said mass, were enjoined to dismiss them so entirely, as not to be knowingly with them in any house: any ecclesiastic accused of this transgression, by two or three lawful witnesses, was, if a priest, to purge himself by six witnesses; if a deacon, by four; if a subdeacon, by two; otherwise to be deemed guilty. Such priests, archdeacons, or canons, as refused to part with their women, here stiled adulterous concubines, were to be deprived not only of their offices and benefices, and put out of the choir, being pronounced infamous, but the bishop had authority to take away all their moveable goods, and those of their wives.

But all these rigorous constitutions were so insufficient, that in the year 1125, the cardinal legate, John de Crema, presiding in a council held at Westminster, thought it necessary to enforce them by the papal authority. In his exhortation, he is said to have made use of these remarkable words: "That it was the highest degree of wickedness to rise from the side of an harlot to make the body of Christ;" nevertheless, this very man, as Henry, archdeacon of Huntingdon, a cotemporary writer, relates, after having that day made the body of Christ, was caught at night with a real harlot: he adds, that a fact so public and notorious could not be denied, and ought not to be concealed; and that the shame of this discovery drove the legate out of England.

In the year 1129, William Corboyl, archbishop of Canterbury, and then legate, obtained the king's leave to hold another council at London, to which all the clergy of England were summoned; and by the authority of which, all those who had wives were requested to put them away before the next feast of St. Andrew, under pain of deprivation; and the more to enforce it, the archbishop and council granted to the king a power of executing their canons, and doing justice on those who should offend against them; which, Henry of Huntingdon says, had a most shameful conclusion: for the king received from the married clergy a vast sum of money, by way of composition and exemption from obedience to these constitutions of the council. This account is also confirmed by Hoveden and Brompton. The Saxon Chronicle says, that the constitutions of this synod had no effect: for all the clergy retained their wives, with the permission of the king, as they had done before; but no notice is taken there of this permission being purchased.

It is worthy of observation, that whereas, by one of the canons of the council held at Westminster, under Archbishop Anselm, in the year 1102, it had been decreed, that the sons of priests should not be the heirs to the churches of their fathers: Pope Paschal ordered, that such of them as were persons of good character should be continued in their benefices; and, in a letter to Anselm, gave this reason for the favour shewed them, viz. that the greatest and best part of the clergy in England were the sons of the clergy. But in Stephen's reign, the power of the papacy acquiring more strength, the celibacy of the clergy was generally established in England. *Notes to Lord Littelton's Hist. of Hen. II.*

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his Spicilegium, after Eadmerus. By this rule all the monasteries of the south were governed. Edgar, during his reign, is said to have erected, or refounded, forty-seven monasteries; and also, at the instances of Dunstan, Ethelwold and Wulston, bishops of Winchester and Worcester, to have caused restitution to be made of all the lands formerly belonging to, and taken from, the religious houses.

At the conquest, the monks and nuns were considerable sufferers; not only in their lands and possessions, but also by the infringements on their rights and immunities; for no sooner was the Conqueror quietly seated on the throne, than he began to rifle their treasures, to depose their abbots, and seize their best estates, bestowing them on his Norman followers: he also obliged them to alter their missals; forcing them to exchange the ancient Gregorian service for a new form, composed by William Fiscam. This innovation was, however, stopped by the interposition of Osmund, bishop of Salisbury; who, to compromise matters, composed a new ritual, afterwards called Missale in Usum Sarum, and generally used in England, Scotland, and Ireland.

But a more material injury was that of making the secular clergy bishops of the churches of cathedral convents; contrary, as it is said, to a canon made in the time of Archbishop Theodore, and confirmed by King Edgar. This caused that distinction then first made between the lands belonging to the bishop, and those the property of the convent; which, before this period, were in common, all donations being made Deo et Ecclesiæ. Besides, after this distinction, the bishops assigned what part they thought proper for the support of the prior and convent; reserving the best estates for themselves and successors. This led benefactors to nominate the particular uses to which they chose their donations should be applied; either to the maintenance or cloathing of the monks, for lights, hospitality, building or repairing the church and its ornaments; and afterwards opened the way for the appropriation of distinct portions to the several great officers of the house.

Another grievance, and which affected the clergy in general, was the alteration made in the nature of the tenure whereby they held

their lands; which from frank almoin subject to no duties or impositions but the trinoda necessitas, (or such as they laid upon themselves in ecclesiastical assemblies) was changed into tenure, in baronage, by knights service.

Anno 1075, the third and last regulation of monks was made by Archbishop Lanfranc; which brought those of the ancient foundations nearer the Benedictine order than ever. (f) During this reign, the Cluniacs were brought into England; of whom five houses were founded: as were also four houses of black canons, two or three hospitals, thirteen Benedictine abbies and priories, with six cells depending upon them, and about fourteen alien priories; whereof the great abbies of Battle and Selby, with the priory of Hinchinbrook, and four or five alien priories, were built and endowed by the king.

William Rufus, succeeding to his father, greatly oppressed the monks; seizing upon the revenues of vacant abbies and bishopricks, and selling them to the best bidders. It is even by some asserted, that he meditated a seizure of all their lands. (g) Efforts were made by several bishops of this reign, particularly Walkeline, bishop of Winchester, to expel the monks out of the cathedral churches, and to place secular canons in their room. This was prevented by

(f) It is to be noted, that the monks of this island were never under one rule, before the second reformation; for not to mention the difference between the British, Scotish, and Roman monks, we may observe, that almost every abbot laid down particular rules of living for those under his jurisdiction; so that we meet with the rules of St. Patrick, St. Congal, St. Columb, St. Molva, St. Columban, St. Carthavid, St. Asaph, St. Cuthbert, St. Adhelm, &c. amongst the Britons and Saxons. Neither did Archbishop Cuthbert's regulation make an uniformity in these matters; for in King Alfred's time, there were "diversi generis monachi;" and even after the Conquest, at a general visitation of religious houses, A. D. 1232, amongst the Benedictines there were not two monasteries that lived after the same manner.

Preface to Tanner's Notitia Monastica.

(g) A manuscript in the Cotton library, written by Geraldus Cambrensis, affirms, that William Rufus had conceived a design of taking from all the monasteries, or religious houses in England, founded and endowed by the English, all their lands and possessions, or the greater part thereof, and converting them into knights fees; saying, that near one half of the kingdom had been bestowed on the church; from all which little or nothing could be drawn by government, in any exigence whatsoever, for the defence of the state.

Archbishop

Archbishop Lanfranc, who prevailed on the king to retract his consent; and likewise procured a bull from Rome, prohibiting such change. During the thirteen years which this king reigned, there were founded about thirteen houses of Benedictines; five of the Cluniac order, two of black canons, two colleges, two hospitals, and five alien priories; whereof the priories of Armethwayte in Cumberland, and St. Nicholas in Exeter, and the hospital of St. Leonard in York, were built and endowed by the king.

King Henry I. is recorded to have been a pious prince, an encourager of learning, and one that had a great esteem for the church, and all religious persons. He founded nine or ten monasteries; viz. the episcopal see, and priory of regular canons, at Carlisle; the abbies of Cirencester and Merton; the priories of Dunstable, St. Dennis near Southampton, Southwike, and Welhove, of the same order; the stately Benedictine abbies of Reading and Hyde, and the alien priory at Steventon; as also the hospitals of St. John, in Cirencester, Le Mallardry, in Lincoln, and St. Mary Magdalene, in Newcastle. Five new orders were brought into the kingdom in this reign: in the first year of it came the knights hospitalars; and, about five years after, the Augustine canons; towards the year 1128, the Cistertians, the canons of the holy sepulchre, and the monks of Grandmont. In the thirty-five years which this king reigned, there were founded above one hundred and fifty religious houses; viz. about twenty alien priories, twenty Benedictine monasteries, and fifteen cells; near fifty houses of Augustine canons, thirteen Cistertian, and six Cluniac monasteries, three of knights hospitalars, one for canons of the holy sepulchre, one for Grandmotensians, one college, and thirteen hospitals.

The troubles in which this kingdom was involved, during the greatest part of the reign of Stephen, did not prevent either that king, or his people, from founding religious houses; for, in the eighteen years and nine months which he governed this nation, there were founded twenty-two Benedictine abbies and priories, with

with three dependant cells, five alien priories, thirty-two Cistertian abbies, twenty-three houses, and four cells of Augustine canons; five Præmonstratensian, two Cluniac, and eleven Gilbertine houses; thirteen preceptories of knights templars, one house for sisters of the hospitalars, one of canons of the holy sepulchre, four colleges, and twelve hospitals: of which the houses of Benedictines, at Carhow, in Norfolk, and Heyham, in Kent; the black canons at Thornholme, in Lincolnshire; the Cluniacs at Feversham, in Kent, and the commanderies of the knights templars at Cressing Temple, in Essex, and Egle, in Lincolnshire, were royal foundations. In the beginning of this reign, the knights templars were introduced into England; as were the Præmonstratensians, in the year 1146; and shortly after the Gilbertine order was instituted, at Sempringham, in Lincolnshire.

Henry the Second, after the death of Thomas Becket, affected to be a great friend to monastic institutions: himself founding a Carthusian monastery at Witham, in Somersetshire, the first of that order in England; houses at Newstade in Nottinghamshire, Ivychurch, in Wiltshire, and Morton, in Yorkshire, for Augustines; for whom he likewise refounded and augmented the monastery of Waltham in Essex: he also founded Newstede, in Lincolnshire, for Gilbertine canons; Stonely, in Warwickshire, for Cistertian monks; and the alien priory of Hagh, in Lincolnshire. In his reign were founded twenty-eight houses of Benedictines, whereof twenty were nunneries, as were most of the Benedictine convents founded after this time; twenty-seven Augustine, sixteen Præmonstratensian, one Carthusian, two Gilbertine, and five Cluniac monasteries; two collegiate churches, twenty-nine hospitals, ten preceptories (Buckland was made a general house for all the sisters of the hospitalars), twenty-six alien priories; and, though contrary to a canon made at a general chapter, held A. D. 1151, nineteen Cistertian abbies. This canon prohibited the erection of any more houses of that rule, on account of their great number; which perhaps the other monks were fearful would give them too much weight at councils

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and general chapters. It is said, there were then in Christendom upwards of five hundred; and they afterwards increased so much, that, in the year 1250, they amounted to eighteen hundred.

During the reign of Richard I. which did not extend to quite ten years, notwithstanding the vast expences of the Crusade, and the money paid for the ransom of that king, there were founded fourteen houses of Benedictines, thirteen of Augustine canons, eight of Præmonstratensians, three of the Gilbertines, four preceptories of Templars, two alien priories, one college, and seven hospitals. It does not appear that this king founded any monastery; indeed, he is said to have disliked monks in general, and to have entertained a mortal hatred to the black monks, Cistertians and Templars.

King John, notwithstanding he was no great friend to ecclesiastics, founded a stately abbey of Cistertians, at Boileau, in Hampshire; to which he made Farendon, in Berkshire, a cell; he likewise built the Benedictine nunnery of Lambley, in Northumberland, made Otterington, in Devonshire, an alien priory, and is said, whilst earl of Moreton, to have founded a Benedictine priory at Waterford, and another at Corke, in Ireland; both which he made cells to the abbey at Bath. In this reign of upwards of seventeen years, were founded eight houses of Benedictines, eight of Cistertians, three of Præmonstratensians, nineteen houses of Augustine canons, six of Gilbertines, one small Cluniac house, and ten alien priories; three preceptories of Templars, four of Hospitalars, one college, and eighteen hospitals.

In the reign of King Henry III. the riches, and consequently the power of the ecclesiastics, increased to such an alarming pitch, that an act of parliament was made, in the ninth year of that reign, to restrain the superstitious prodigality of the people, in bestowing lands upon religious foundations; particularly in a manner which deprived the king, and the lords of the manors, of their respective rights. This was called the statute of Mort-

main; (h) wherein it was enacted, "That it shall not be lawful, from henceforth, to any to give his lands to any religious house, and to take the same land again, to hold of the same house; nor shall it be lawful to any house of religion to take lands of any, and to lease the same to him of whom he received it: if any, from henceforth, give his lands to any religious house, and thereupon be convict, the gift shall be utterly void, and the land shall accrue to the lord of the fee." (i) The necessity of this statute see in the notes. (k) Suc-

(h) Mortmain, in mortua manu. Hottoman, in his Commentaries de Verbis Feudal. verbo manus mortua: "Manus mortua locutio est, quæ usurpatur de iis quorum possessio, ut ita dicam, immortalis est, qui nunquam hæredem habere desinunt. Qua de causa res nunquam ad priorem dominum revertitur: nam manus pro possessione dicitur, mortua pro immortali," &c. And Skene says, "That dimittere terras ad manum mortuam est idem atque dimittere ad multitudinem sive universatim, quæ nunquam moritur."

(i) Keeble's Statutes.

(k) By the common law, any man might dispose of his lands to any other private man, at his own discretion; especially when the feudal restraints of alienation were worn away: yet in consequence of these, it was always, and is still, necessary for corporations to have a licence of mortmain from the crown, to enable them to purchase lands: for as the king is the ultimate lord of every fee, he ought not, unless by his own consent, to lose his privilege of escheats, and other feudal profits, by the vesting of land in tenants that can never be attainted or die: and such licences of mortmain seem to have been necessary among the Saxons, about sixty years before the Norman conquest. But, besides this general licence from the king, as lord paramount of the kingdom, it was also requisite, whenever there was a mesne, or intermediate lord between the king and the alienor, to obtain his licence also, (upon the same feudal principles) for the alienation of the specific land: and if no such licence was obtained, the king or other lord might respectively enter on the lands so alienated in mortmain, as a forfeiture. The necessity of this licence from the crown was acknowledged by the constitutions of Clarendon, in respect to advowsons, which the monks always greatly coveted, as being the ground-work of subsequent appropriations; yet such were the influence and ingenuity of the clergy, that (notwithstanding this fundamental principle) we find that the largest and most considerable donations of religious houses, happened within less than two centuries after the conquest; and (when a licence could not be obtained) their contrivance seems to have been this: that as the forfeiture for such alienations accrued, in the first place, to the immediate lord of the fee, the tenant who meant to alienate, first conveyed his lands to the religious house, and instantly took them back again, to hold as tenant to the monastery; which kind of instantaneous seisin was probably held not to occasion any forfeiture: and then, by pretext of some other forfeiture, surrender or escheat, the society entered into these lands, in right of their newly acquired signiory, as immediate lords of the fee. But when these donations began to grow numerous, it was observed, that the feudal services ordained for the defence of the kingdom were every day visibly withdrawn; that the circulation of landed property from man to man began to stagnate; and that the lords were curtailed of the fruits of their signiories, their escheats, wardships, reliefs, and the like: and therefore, in order to prevent this, it was ordained by the second of King Henry the Third's great charters, and afterwards by that printed in our common statute books, that all such attempts should be void, and the land forfeited to the lord of the fee. *Blackstone's Commentaries.*

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ceeding kings sometimes dispensed with this law, by their special licence; previous to which, there was an inquisition of Ad quod dampnum, and a return, upon oath, that it would not prejudice either the dignity or the revenues of the crown. For this licence, fees, and perhaps a fine, were paid.

In the beginning of this reign also, the friars, preachers, and friars minors, came into England; and before the end of it, eight sorts of friars more came amongst us; and many of them, for the pretended severity of their lives, and their frequent preaching, were at first admired by the people, to the great loss of the parish priests, as well as the regulars. However, in this long reign of fifty-six years, there were founded nine monasteries of Benedictines, twenty-seven of Augustine canons, eight of Cistertians, three of Præmonstratensians, two small houses of Cluniacs, of Carthusians and Gilbertines one each, three preceptories of knights templars, and two of hospitalars, twelve alien priories, seven colleges, and forty-seven hospitals; besides twenty-eight houses of grey friars, twenty-five of black friars, seventeen of white friars, four of Augustine friars, two of Maturine or Trinitarian friars; of Crossed and Bethleemite friars, friars de Pica and de Areno, one each; six houses of friars de Sacco, two of brethren of St. Anthony de Vienna, and one of brethren of St. Lazarus: of these the king founded the Cistertian abbey of Netteley, the small Gilbertine priory of Fordham, the hospitals of St. Bartholomew's in Gloucester, Basingstoke, and Ospring, and several of the friaries.

In the reign of Edward I. (l) the reverence which the people had hitherto entertained for the monks, began greatly to abate; owing to the writings, preaching, and artful insinuations of the friars: and, on account of their supposed riches, the former statute, intended to prevent an increase in their possessions, was

(l) Bishop Kennet, in his Glossary, at the end of the Parochial Antiquities, under the word Religiosi, saith, before the statute of mortmain, the nation was so sensible of the extravagant donations to the religious, that in the grant and conveyance of estates, it was often made an express condition, that no sale, gift, or assignation of the premises, should be made to the religious: "Tenenda sibi et hæredibus suis, vel cuicunque vendere vel assignare voluerint exceptis Religiosis et Judæis."

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strengthened by additional acts. In this reign, the stately abbey of Vale Royal was founded by the king; and by divers of his subjects, three Cistertian abbies, five Augustine priories, one Gilbertine, and one Cluniac monastery; two preceptories, three alien priories, twelve colleges, and eighteen hospitals; besides thirteen houses of black, and eleven of grey friars; two of minoresses, or nuns of Clare; thirteen of white, and thirteen of Augustine friars; two of Trinitarians, four of Crossed friars, two of friars de Sacco, and one of Bonhommes. About this time, or a little after, a number of chantries were founded, by which the secular clergy were somewhat benefited.

Edward, in the twenty-fourth year of his reign, during his war with France, seized all the alien priories, and removed their monks twenty miles from the sea-side, to prevent their giving assistance or intelligence to his enemies.

In the nineteen years reign of King Edward II. the religious foundations were, one Benedictine and one Augustine monastery, five houses of white friars, three of black friars, six of grey friars, four of Augustine friars, one of Trinitarians, and one of Crossed friars; two of the present colleges in Oxford, and six others; also fourteen hospitals; of these, the white friars at Scardeburgh, the Augustine friars in Boston, and the black friars in Winchelsea, were founded by the king.

In this reign, anno 1312, the knights templars were seized, their order dissolved, and their goods confiscated.

The pretence was, their vicious lives, and too great riches and power; though some have attributed their downfal to the intrigues of the king of France. Indeed, though they were greatly accused, but little was proved against them. Their estates were at first seized by the king, and other lords, as fees or escheats, and the judges affirmed, that by the laws of the land they might warrantably hold them. But because they had been given for pious uses, it seemed good to the king, the nobility and others, assembled in parliament, for the health of their souls, and the discharge of their consciences, that the estates, &c. according to the

the wills of the donors, should be appropriated to religious uses; wherefore they were accordingly, by an act of parliament passed anno 1323, given to the Hospitalars; nevertheless, divers of their lands which had been granted to the laity, continued in their possessions, and some tythes were recovered by the parochial clergy.

King Edward III. though, according to the monks, a pious as well as valiant prince, on account of his wars with France, was not only prevented from making many religious foundations, but also forced to exercise severities on the alien priories: (m) nevertheless he founded and liberally endowed the Augustine nunnery at Dartford in Kent; the two large colleges of St. George at Windsor, and St. Stephen at Westminster; and gave to the abbey of St. Mary Graces, by the Tower, the revenues of twelve chantries, seized for not having licence of mortmain.

In this reign of fifty-one years, were founded four houses of Augustine canons, one of Gilbertines, two of Carthusian monks, seventeen hospitals, one of the present colleges at Oxford, and twenty-five others; two houses of black friars, eight of grey friars, five of white friars, eight of Augustine friars, and one of Bonhommes.

In the reign of Richard II. the doctrine of Wickliffe began greatly to prevail, and the mendicant friars to lose their reputation. (n) Although the alien priories were sequestered during the wars, yet many of the principal houses abroad now obtained the king's licence to sell their lands to the religious here; and sometimes to particular persons, who intended to endow religious foundations.

(m) See in Rymer, vol. ii. p. 778, his directions about seizing alien priories; the lands of which, or large pensions out of them, were granted to noblemen, during the war. *As Dug. Baron. vol. ii. p. 74.*

(n) This evidently appears from the ludicrous stories told of them by Chaucer. And that it was then the case with them in other kingdoms, appears from the Decameron of Boccace, written much about that time, wherein the friars make a conspicuous figure: had they been in much esteem or authority, neither Boccace nor Chaucer would have ventured thus to satirize them; or at least have done it with impunity; the more just their satire, the more likely to be severely resented.

In this reign, which lasted twenty-two years, were founded only four chartreuse houses, six hospitals, six colleges, besides the two founded by Bishop Wickham, at Oxford and Winchester; one house of grey friars, and three of Augustine friars; for after the restraint laid upon endowing houses for the regular orders, the secular priests were more regarded; licences of mortmain being perhaps obtained with greater facility for them, who had not so many privileges as the regulars; or else they were maintained by appropriations, which were then no lay fees, and so not within the reach of the statute; or lastly, it was no hard matter to enfeoff a proper number of persons with lands, for the payment of certain annual stipends to the deans and prebendaries.

The erection of so many chantries and hospitals in the two centuries before the Reformation, may also be ascribed to the same reason. This king founded no monastery or college, but gave to several, particularly the Carthusians at Montgrace in Yorkshire, and St. Ann's near Coventry, the estates of several alien priories seized by his grandfather.

King Henry IV. in the first year of his reign, restored all the conventual alienal priories; reserving in times of war, to the crown, the sums they paid in times of peace to the foreign abbies. In a parliament held A. D. 1404, at Coventry, called the lack-learning parliament, because no practising lawyers were permitted to sit therein, it was moved by the commons, that for raising of money for the carrying on of a foreign war, and the defence of the realm against the Welch and Scots, the clergy should be deprived of their temporal possessions: but Archbishop Arundel shewing to the king, that more of their tenants went to his wars than those of the lay fees; that the clergy were always ready to assist him with their prayers, councils, and purses; and desiring his majesty to recollect his coronation oath, wherein he had promised to advance the honour of the church, and to protect its ministers, the project was laid aside; the king declaring, that he was resolved to leave the church in as good, or a better state than he found it.

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The archbishop then addressing himself to the commons, told them, that although several of the king's predecessors had, in pursuance of former advice, seized the alien priories, which were certainly of great value, yet was not the king half a mark the richer, these lands having been begged by his courtiers; and that their present motion proceeded from the same interested motives; their aim being to benefit themselves, and not the king; who would not, the ensuing year, be the richer by a farthing.

Notwithstanding this rebuke, A. D. 1410, the commons exhibited a new bill against the bishops, abbots, and priors; setting forth, that by the seizure of their estates, the king would be enabled to create and provide for fifteen earls, fifteen hundred knights, six thousand two hundred esquires, and to found one hundred new hospitals. But the king again rejected this proposal, and commanded them for the future, never to revive that matter. This monarch built the college of Battlefield in Shropshire, with five others, and about six hospitals, which were all the religious foundations in the thirteen years of his reign.

In the second year of the succeeding reign of Henry V. another attempt, but with no better success, was made against the revenues of the church; for Archbishop Chichley artfully diverted the storm, by inciting the king to assert his title to the crown of France; promising him such a benevolence from the clergy, for the carrying on of the war, as had never before been given. But in a parliament held the same year at Leicester, all the alien priories were given to the king, with all their lands and revenues; except such as were conventual, or had the liberty of choosing their own prior. Most of them were, however, bestowed on other monasteries or colleges; some were to remain in the king's fee; and a very small number of them were granted, or sold to the laity. (o) In this short reign only two colleges were founded, besides the Carthusian abbey at Sheen, and the abbey at Sion for

(o) Scarce any in fee, and not many for life or years, and those to whom such alien priories were given, were obliged to find a mass-priest, to officiate in such alien priories, and pray for the king; sometimes for the founder.

nuns

nuns of St. Bridget, which were built and munificently endowed by the king himself.

During the unhappy reign of Henry VI. there were founded three colleges and one hall at Oxford, three colleges at Cambridge, and eight elsewhere; fifteen hospitals, and one house of grey friars. Besides these, the king himself founded Eton College, in Buckinghamshire, and King's College, Cambridge; which he chiefly endowed with the revenues of alien priories.

In the reign of Edward IV. were founded six colleges, besides Katharine Hall, in Cambridge, and Lincoln College, in Oxford; and seven hospitals, or alms-houses.

King Henry VII. founded some few houses of observant friars, and began the hospital at the Savoy, in London: his mother founded Christ's and St. John's Colleges, in Cambridge. Besides these, there were founded in his reign three hospitals, and one small college.

Soon after the accession of King Henry VIII. the colleges of Brazen Nose and Corpus Christi were founded at Oxford; and Magdalene College in Cambridge; as also, before the dissolution, five hospitals.

From this account of the rise and progress of monastic affairs, it is observable, that the richest monasteries were founded before the conquest; at which period there were about one hundred: many of them were afterwards refounded.

Within an hundred and fifty years after the conquest, or before the first of Henry III. there were founded and refounded, four hundred and seventy-six abbies and priories; besides eighty-one alien priories. (p)

After that time, there were many chantries, houses of friars, hospitals, and colleges founded; but very few houses of monks, nuns, or canons. "I think" (says Tanner, whom I have closely followed in this account) "but one Benedictine house, viz. that

(p) It is not clear that any alien priories were founded after the reign of Edward I. The whole number of them was about ninety-six; there being fifteen founded after the beginning of the reign of Henry III.

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of Holand in Lancashire, after the death of Henry III. and after the death of King Edward III. (which was about an hundred and sixty years before the dissolution) no monastery for monks, or nuns, or canons, except Sion, and five chartreuse houses:" so that the nation in general seemed to have quite lost its taste for these kind of institutions, a great while before the subversion of them.

Having thus traced the monastic institutions of this kingdom, from their rise to their total suppression, it remains to give some account of the different rules, or orders of religious, with their discipline, dress, and other particulars relative to them.

The orders were either religious or military; of the former were all monks, nuns and canons.

Of the monks, the most ancient are the Benedictines; so called from their following a set of rules laid down by St. Benedict, a native of Nursia, in the dukedom of Spoleto in Italy; who was born about the year 480, and died about the year 543: his rule was not confirmed till fifty-two years after his death; when it received the sanction of Pope Gregory the Great.

St. Benedict founded twelve monasteries in his own country; the chief of which was at Monte Casino. His rules are divided into seventy-three chapters. In them are many ordinances, inculcating every Christian virtue: at the same time it must be allowed, that some which have been since added, are extremely singular. (q) All sorts of persons, without distinction, were, by the

(q) The statutes and ordinances of Lanfranc concerning the rules to be observed by the Benedictines, have one whole chapter or decree concerning the diminution of blood; where it is appointed that leave must first be asked: but this leave was not to be granted, at some certain solemn seasons (unless upon unavoidable necessity) as when their absence from officiating or assisting in the public service of their church was not to be dispensed with.

But leave being granted, the hour was to be notified to the cellerer of the convent: those who were to have a vein opened, were to come to the place appointed for that purpose, where several ceremonies and formalities were ordered to be performed at that time, and upon that occasion. Afterwards they were to appear before the prior and chapter; and it being openly said, that such and such a brother had blood taken from him, the monk was to stand up (especially if a vein in his arm had been opened) and to speak for himself. Then it follows, if he had been guilty of a small offence, it should be forgiven him; but if the offence was such as could not be forgiven or passed over without bodily punishment, the punishment of him

order of St. Benedict, to be received into this order: children, boys, youths, the poor and the rich, gentlemen and peasants, servants and freemen, the learned and unlearned, the laity and clergy.

The form and colour of the habits of these monks, it is said, were at first left to the direction of the abbots, who varied them according to the season and climate. But it was afterwards ordained, that they should wear a loose gown, of black stuff, reaching down to the heels, with a cowl or hood of the same, and a scapulary; under this, another habit, of the same size, made of white flannel, and boots on their legs. From the colour of their outward habit, they were generally called black monks.

To the end that no man might have any particular property, the abbot found them in every thing that was necessary; which, besides their habit, was a knife, a needle, a steel pen, and tablets to write on. Their beds were a mat, some straw, and a pillow; their covering, a blanket and a piece of serge.

There were nuns of this order, as well as monks; their habit was a black robe, with a scapulary of the same; under which was a tunic of white undyed wool; and, when they went to the choir, they had, over all, a black cowl, like that worn by the monks. (r)

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should be deferred till another time; namely, till he had recovered better health and strength, after the loss of blood.

This chapter is somewhat mystical; and perhaps designedly so, that the reputation of the members of the convent might be defended from being openly charged with irregularities and foul enormities: such things were like the rights of Ceres, religiously to be concealed. But it seems plain, that the want of having blood taken away, was frequently occasioned by irregularity and excess.

I may further observe, that when the lord high-steward, with his retinue, had, according to his office, attended at an enthronization feast of an archbishop, it was one branch of his accustomed right and fee, which he claimed at his going away, to stop three days at one of the nearest manors of the archbishop, to diminish his blood; that is, to have a vein opened, or properly to cool his blood, which had been heated by high feeding and drinking at the feast. *Batteley's Addition to Somner's Canterbury, p.* 133.

(r) This order is said by many (among whom are Sir Henry Spelman, Camden, and Selden) to have been brought into England by St. Augustine, A D. 596: but Sir John Masham, Bishop Patrick, Dr. Hickes, Dr. William Thomas, and Bishop Nicholson, think this rule was little known, till King Edgar's time; and never perfectly observed till after the Conquest.

Some have said, that St. Wilfrid brought it into England, A. D. 666: and others, with greater probability, that he improved the English church by it. It is expressly mentioned in King Kinred's charter to the monks of Evesham, A. D. 709; and in the bull of Pope Constantine,

The great riches and power of the Benedictines causing a remissness in the observance of their rules, a reformation was set on foot by Bernon, abbot of Gigni, in Burgundy; which was compleated by Odo, abbot of Cluni, (s) anno 912, who added thereto some stricter ordinances. (t) This gave rise to a new order, called, from

stantine, granted in the same year to that monastery: But Bede, who hath given us a very accurate account of the state of religion in this island till the year 731, hath nothing of it; nor is there any mention of it in the first regulation of the monks in England by Archbishop Cuthbert, in the great synod at Cloveshoe, A. D. 747.

If Wilfrid really advanced this rule, it was not over all England, but in Kent only; and if the charter of King Kenred, and the bull of Pope Constantine be genuine, (for all the antient grants produced by the monks are not so) this rule which is there prescribed to the monks of Eversham, is however said, in the bull, "to have been at that time but little used in those parts:" so that, instead of the Saxon monks being all Benedictines, there were probably but few such, till the restoration of monasteries under King Edgar; when St. Dunstan and St. Oswald (the latter of whom had been a Benedictine monk at Fleury in France) not only favoured the monks against the secular clergy, but so much advanced the Benedictines, that William of Malmsbury saith, "This order took its rise in England, from St. Oswald." Of this order were all our cathedral priories, except Carlisle: and most of the richest abbies in England. Reyner, vol. i. p. 217, saith, that the revenues of the Benedictines were almost equal to those of all the other orders. *Tanner's Notitia Monastica.*

(s) This abbey, which was situated at Cluny, in the Massonois, a little province in France, was anciently so very spacious and magnificent, that in 1245, after holding of the first Council of Lyons, Pope Innocent II. went to Cluni, accompanied with the two patriarchs of Antioch and Constantinople, twelve cardinals, three archbishops, fifteen bishops; and a great number of abbots; who were all entertained, without one of the monks being put out of his place; though St. Louis, Queen Blanch his mother, the duke of Artois, his brother and his sister, the emperor of Constantinople, the sons of the kings of Arragon and Castile, the duke of Burgundy, six counts, and a great number of lords, with all their retinue, were there at the same time.

Cluni, at its first erection, was put under the immediate protection of the apostolic see; with express prohibition to all secular and ecclesiastical powers, not to disturb the monks in the possession of their effects, or the election of their abbot. By this they pretend to be exempted from the jurisdiction of bishops; which at length gave the hint to other abbies to insist on the same.

Cluni is the head of a very numerous and extensive congregation: in effect, it was the first congregation of divers monasteries, uited under one chief, so as to constitute one body, or, as they call it, one order, that ever arose. *Chambers's Dictionary.*

(t) If we may believe their own abbot Peter, these ordinances were not much observed. His words are: "Our brethren despise God, and having past all shame, eat flesh now all days of the week except Friday, not only in secret but in public; also boasting of their sin, like those of Sodom: they run here and there, and as kites and vultures, flie with great swiftness where the most smoke of the kitchen is, or where they smell the best roast and boiled.

"Those that will not do as the rest, them they mock, and treat as hypocrites and prophane. Bacon, cheese, eggs, and even fish itself, can no more please their nice palates: they only relish the flesh-pots of Egypt: pieces of boiled and roasted pork, good fat veal, otters and

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from the place of its institution, Cluniacs: they were the principal branch of the Benedictines; and, like them, they wore a black habit.

All the houses of this order in England were governed by foreigners, and subordinate to foreign monasteries, (v) by whom only they could be visited: neither could they elect their own priors, profess novices, or determine their own differences; but, for all these, were obliged to refer to their superiors beyond sea; by which the greatest part of their revenues were carried abroad; (u) and these convents contained more French than English monks.

On these accounts, during the wars with France, the priories of this order were generally seized by the king, as alien priories; but after the petition to the parliament of Winchester, the fourth of Edward III. these inconveniences were by degrees removed; some of their houses were in that and the following reign made denizen; Bermondsey was made an abbey; and at length all the others discharged from their subjection to foreign abbies. (w) There were twenty-seven priories and cells of this order in England; and it was introduced here about the year 1077.

The order of Grandmont was also a branch of the Benedictines, instituted on the mountain of Muret, by one Stephen, a gentleman of Auvergne, in France, anno 1076; who composed a rule taken from that of St. Benedict, the regular canons, and the manner of living of the hermits. It was confirmed by several Popes; and afterwards, by reason of its great austerity, moderated

hares; the best geese and pullets; and in a word, all sorts of flesh and fowl, do now cover the tables of our holy monks. But what do I talk? Those things are grown now too common; they are cloyed with them: they must have something more delicate; they would have got for them kids, harts, boars, and wild bears. One must for them beat the bushes with a great number of hunters; and, by help of birds of prey, must one chase the pheasants, and partridges, and ring doves, for fear the servants of God (who are good monks) should perish with hunger." *Short History of Monastical Orders, by Gabriel Emillianne, p* 92.

(v) The houses of Cluni, la Charité sur Loire, and St. Martin's de Champs, at Paris.

(u) The house of Cluni had a pension out of every house of that order in England, called Apportus, which probably amounted in the whole to a great sum; for Cotton, in his Abridgment, p. 51, saith, The abbot of Cluni had a pension from England of 2000*l. per annum:* and, according to Rymer, vol. iii. p. 1009, and Prynne's Records, vol. iii. p. 386, 858, the foreigners sometimes demanded occasional supplies from their houses here, and even run them into debt, as Prynne, vol. iii. p. 750. *Tanner.*

(w) But perhaps not till the thirty-sixth of Henry VI. or A. D. 1457; when three monks were sent from Cluni, to desire restitution of those possessions which had long been detained from them and leave to enter all places depending on their houses; but, instead of obtaining any thing, were deprived of the subjection of all houses of this order in England.

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by Innocent IV. in the year 1247; and again, by Clement V. in the year 1309. This Stephen is said to have worn, by way of mortification, an iron cuirass next his skin; to have slept in a wooden coffin, laid some feet deep in the ground, without either bed or straw; and, by his frequent kneeling, to have made the skin of his knees like that of a camel: and moreover, to have so often kissed the earth, that his nose was thereby turned up.

This order obtained the name of Grandmont, from the place of their residence, pointed by a pretended miracle. One Peter, a native of Limoges, a disciple and successor of Stephen, having asked a sign from Heaven, informing him where he and his monks should fix their abode, they having been chased from Muret; a voice in the air thrice distinctly pronounced Grandmount, which is a high mountain in the neighbourhood of Muret. Their dress is much like that of the Benedictines.

There were but three houses of this order in England: viz. Abberbury in Shropshire, in which they were placed, at their first introduction, by Henry I.; Cressewal, in Herefordshire; and Grosmont, or Eskdale, in Yorkshire.

Another branch of the Benedictines were the Carthusians, the strictest of all the religious orders. It was instituted about the year 1080, as is pretended, on the following occasion. The body of a professor of the university of Paris, esteemed a man of piety and exemplary life, being brought, according to the custom of the country, upon a bier for interment, whilst the funeral service was performing, the corpse raised itself upright, and with a lamentable voice cried, "I am accused by the just judgment of God;" which putting the congregation into a great fright, the ceremony stopped, and the interment was deferred till the next day; when on beginning again, the body cried, "I am judged by the just judgment of God;" whereupon the obsequies were put off yet one day longer: at last, on the third day, in the presence of a number of spectators, assembled by the report of this prodigy, the dead man cried, with a terrible voice, "By the just judgment of God am I condemned."

One Bruno being present, was so struck, that he addressed himself to the assembly, asserting, "That it was impossible for them to be saved, unless they renounced the world, and retired themselves into the desarts;" which he, with six companions, executed immediately, going into a frightful place, called Charteruse, (x) amongst the mountains, in the diocese of Grenoble; where he was assisted in all things by the bishop of that place, named Hugues; who, afterwards, became one of his disciples: they followed the rule of St. Benedict; adding thereto several other great austerities; some of which were a total abstinence from flesh, (y) even in cases of desperate sickness; the living one day in every week on bread and water; always wearing a hair shirt next their skins; confinement within the walls of their monastery, from which none were ever to go out but the prior or procurator, and that only on the necessary business of the convent; a prohibition of walking about their own grounds above once a week; and, besides all these, and more, they were enjoined an almost continual silence.

This rule was confirmed by Pope Alexander III. about the year 1174, and was brought into England, anno 1180, or 1181. Here were only nine houses of monks of this order, and no nuns; their habit was all white, except an outer plaited cloak (sometimes worn) which was black.

The Cistertians were likewise produced from the Benedictines; they were so called from Cistertium, or Cisteaux, in the bishopric of Chalons, in Burgundy, where they had their beginning, anno 1098; being instituted by one Robert, who had been abbot of Molesme, in that province; from which he, with twenty of his religious, had withdrawn, on account of the wicked lives of his

(x) From whence their monasteries were sometimes called charterhouses.

(y) The prohibition of eating flesh is still continued, with this restriction: "That flesh ought to be presented to those who are thought to draw near their end: if they accept of it, and recover from sickness, they are deprived for ever of any vote; they can never come to any degree of superiority; and are looked upon as infamous men, who have preferred a morsel of meat to a precious death before God." Stevens, vol. ii. p. 239, saith, There were but five nunneries of this austere order in the world, and but one hundred and sixty-seven houses of these monks.

monks;

monks; but they were brought into repute by Stephen Harding, an Englishman, their third abbot, who gave them some additional rules to those of St. Benedict; these were called, Charitatis Chartæ, and confirmed in the year 1107, by Pope Urban II.

Stephen is therefore, by some, reckoned their principal founder. They were also called Bernardines, from St. Bernard, abbot of Clerival, or Clarivaux, in the diocese of Langres, about the year 1116; and who, himself, founded one hundred and sixty monasteries of this order. Sometimes they were stiled white monks, from the colour of their habit; which was a white cassock, with a narrow scapulary, and over that, a black gown, when they went abroad; but a white one when they went to church. (z) Their monasteries, which became very numerous, were generally built in solitary and uncultivated places, and all dedicated to the Holy Virgin. This order came into England, anno 1128; and had their first house at Waverley, in Surrey; and, before the dissolution, had eighty-five houses here. (a)

The foundation of the order of Savigni, or Fratres Grisei, is, by some, placed before the Conquest: but it was not really in being, till about forty years after that event.

Its author, Vitalis, was born about the middle of the eleventh century, at Tierceville, near Bayeux; and is frequently stiled, Vitalis de Mortain, from having been a prebend of the Collegiate Church of Mortain: he was a companion of Robert de Arbrissel, founder of the order of Fontevrauld; and began, anno 1105, to gather disciples in the forest of Savigni; where, by the assistance of a nobleman named Roaul de Fugeres, he founded an abbey, about the year 1112: he prescribed to his disciples the rule of St. Benedict, with some peculiar additional constitutions: they wore a grey habit; from whence they were denominated Fratres Grisei.

(z) They pretended that the Virgin Mary appeared to St. Bernard, and commanded him to wear, for her own sake, such white clothes. *Emillianne.*

(a) Stevens, vol. ii. p. 37, a, and p. 50, a, from A. Wood. All orders, both of monks and friars, were against having any house of another order near them: but the Cistertians would not allow another house, even of their own order, to be built within such a distance of them.

Vitalis

Vitalis came into England, A. D. 1120; and preaching here, and converting many, probably introduced his order; which was shortly after, namely, in the year 1148, united to the Cistertians.

The order of Tiron was set on foot by St. Bernard, (b) who was born in the territory of Abbeville, in the province of Ponthieu, A. D. 1046, and became a follower of the before-mentioned Robert de Arbrissel; but instituted a different sort of monks, who took their name Tironenses, from their first monastery, which was founded at Tiron, A. D. 1109: they were reformed Benedictines; they wore, at first, a grey habit, which was afterwards changed for black.

It does not appear they had any house in England; or more than one abbey in Wales, viz. St. Dogmael's (where they were placed about the year 1126), with its dependant priory at Pille, and Cell at Caldey. The Monasticon mentions the monks of Savigni and Tiron as of the same order.

The order of monks here mentioned, were all we had in England and Wales, (c) except the Culdees, or Cultores Dei, who were Scotch monks, and of the same rule with the Irish ones; the Scotch writers make them as ancient as the conversion of their country to Christianity, in the times of Decius and Aurelian. But they are neither mentioned by Nennius, who wrote in the seventh century, nor Bede, who wrote in the eighth. The first account of them is at St. Andrew's about the middle of the ninth century: in England they occur no where, but at St. Peter's, in York.

The next of the religious orders were canons: these were either seculars or regulars. The secular canons were so called, because they were conversant in the world, and administered to the laity on all occasions, and took upon themselves the cure of souls, which the regulars might not do without a dispensation. They differed very

(b) This was a different person from St. Bernard of Clarivaux. *Stevens*, vol. ii. p. 256.

(c) Unless there were any Celestine monks brought in by King Henry V. as Reymer mentions, tr. i. p. 166, from Walsingham, sub A. D. 1413; and Weaver, p. 138: but I know not on what grounds. *Tanner.*

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little from the ordinary priests, unless that they were under the government of local statutes; for though, in some places, they were obliged to live together, yet in general this was not the case; most of them living apart, and subsisting upon distinct portions, called prebends; nearly in the same manner as the present canons of our cathedrals.

The regular canons were such as lived in a conventual manner under one roof, had a common refectory and dormitory, and were bound by vows to observe the rules and statutes of their order: in fine, they were a kind of religious, whose discipline was less rigid than that of the monks.

The chief rule of these canons was that of St. Augustine, who was constituted bishop of Hippo, A. D. 395: but they were not brought into England till after the Conquest; and seem not to have obtained the appellation of Augustine canons, till some years after.(d) Their

(d) Indeed Bale and Sir Robert Atkins say, that these canons were brought into England by St. Birinus, in the beginning of the seventh century; but those were certainly secular canons, whom he then placed at Dorchester; and all other historians agree, that we had no regular canons here till the eleventh, and probably not till the twelfth century.

For though they differ about the place of their first settlement, yet the general opinion is, that they came in after King Henry I. began his reign. Joseph Pamphilius indeed saith, they were seated in London, A. D. 1059; but he seems to have been an obscure writer. Mr. Somner saith, that St. Gregory's, in Canterbury, which was built by Archbishop Lanfranc, A. D. 1084, was their first house: but Leland's saying, that Archbishop Lanfranc placed secular canons at St. Gregory's, and that Archbishop Carboil changed them into regulars, makes the authority of that judicious antiquary, in this case, doubtful.

Reymer saith, that they were brought into England by Athelwulphus, or Adulphus, confessor to King Henry I. and had their house at Nostell, in Yorkshire: but they seem not to have been settled there till Thurstan was archbishop of York; and that was not till A. D. 1114.

Stowe says, that Norman was the first regular canon in England; and that these religious were first seated at the Holy Trinity, or Christ Church within Aldgate, London, A. D. 1108: but that house was not built till R. Beaurnier was bishop of London: whereas the house of these canons at Colchester was founded before the death of Bishop Maurice his predecessor, which happened September 26, 1107: and therefore I cannot but think that John Rosse and Pope Paschalis II. are right, in placing them first at Colchester; though it could not be in Rosse's year 1109, but was rather A. D. 1105.

Stevens tells us, though there were regular canons who embraced the rule of St. Austin, taken from his one hundred and ninth epistle, in the eleventh century, as particularly at the abbey of St. Denis at Rheims, about A. D. 1067, yet the regular canons did not make solemn

Their habit was a long black cassock, with a white rochet over it; and over that, a black cloak and hood. The monks were always shaved; but these canons wore beards, and caps on their heads. There were of these canons, and women of the same order, called canonesses, about one hundred and seventy-five houses.

Besides these, there were the following sorts: first, such as observed the rule of St. Augustine, according to the regulations of St. Nicholas of Arrosia; secondly, Augustines of the order of St. Victor; thirdly, Augustines of the institution of St. Mary of Maretune; fourthly, Præmonstratensians, or canons who followed a rule laid down, anno 1120, by St. Norbet, afterwards archbishop of Magdeburgh, which was a mixture of the monastical and canonical discipline.

This order obtained its appellation of Præmonstratensians, from a story told by these religious: wherein they asserted, that their founder received his rule, curiously bound in gold, from the hand of St. Augustine himself, who appeared to him one night, and said to him, "There is the rule which I have written: if thy brethren observe it, they, like my other children, need fear nothing at the day of judgement:" after which, an angel shewed him the meadow wherein he was to build his first monastery, which from thence was called Præmonstratus. These canons, from their habit, were called white canons: it was a white cassock, with a rochet over it; a long white cloak, and a white cap. They came into England about the year 1140; and first settled at Newhouse in Lincolnshire.

A conservator of their privileges resided in England; but they nevertheless were visited by their superiors of Præmonstre; who, like those of the Cluniacs and Cistertians, raised great contributions

vows till the twelfth century; and did not in general take the name of "Regular Canons of St. Austin," till Pope Innocent II. ordained, in the Lateran Council, A. D. 1139, that all regular canons should submit to that rule of St. Austin, in his one hundred and ninth epistle; so that these regular canons certainly fall short of the time of their pretended founder: and therefore when black or regular canons are mentioned before A. D. 1105, the reader must thereby understand secular canons. For it was usual, in those days, to call secular canons of cathedral and collegiate churches, "Canonici Regulares," to distinguish them from the common parochial clergy; though probably many of those societies might become Austin canons afterwards. *Tanner.*

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on them, till restrained by the parliament held at Carlisle, anno 1307.

This statute did not restrain the foreign superiors from visiting their orders; but only from taking money out of the kingdom; so that the religious of this order continued subordinate to the general chapter and abbot of Præmonstre, till the year 1512; when they were exempted from it by the bull of Pope Julius II. confirmed by King Henry VIII. and the superiority of the houses of this order in England, which were thirty-five in number, was given to the abbot of Welbeck in Nottinghamshire. Fifthly, the Gilbertine canons, so called from St. Gilbert an Englishman, their first institutor; they were likewise sometimes called Sempringham canons, from the place of their first monastery, which was founded at Sempringham in Lincolnshire, A. D. 1148; and confirmed by Pope Eugenius III.

This order consisted of men and women, who lived under the same roof, but their apartments had no communication: nevertheless they could not escape scandal, as appears from the verses in the note. (e) This rule was composed from those of St. Augustine and St. Benedict: the women following the latter, according to the Cistertian regulation; and the men that of St. Augustine with some special statutes inserted by St. Gilbert. The habit of these canons, as described in the Monasticon, was a black cassock, with a cloak over it; and an hood, lined with lamb-skins: but others say, it was the same with the Cistertians.

They were under the directions of a master, or prior-general; who frequently visited them, and had so much power, that particular priors and convents could do little without him. This order increased so fast, that St. Gilbert himself founded thirteen monasteries; four of men, and nine for men and women together; these, together,

(e) Harum sunt quædam steriles, quædam parientes
Virginesque tamen nomine cuncta tegunt;
Quæ pastoralis baculi dotatur honore
Illa quidem melius fertiliusque parit.
Vix etiam quævis sterilis reperitur in illis,
Donec ejus ætas talia posse negat.

contained

contained seven hundred brethren, and fifteen hundred sisters. At the dissolution, there were about twenty-five houses of this order in England and Wales.

The canons regular of the Holy Sepulchre were instituted here, the beginning of the twelfth century, in imitation of those established anno 1099, after the conquest of Jerusalem, by Godfrey of Boullogne; who committed to their care the keeping of the Holy Sepulchre.

They were sometimes called canons of the Holy Cross, on account of a double red cross they wore upon the breast of their cloak, or upper garment; in which alone their dress differed from that of other Augustine canons.

The first house of this order was at Warwick, which was begun for them by Henry de Newburgh, earl of Warwick; who dying anno 1123, before it was finished, Roger his son completed it before the year 1135. After the loss of Jerusalem, A. D. 1188, this order falling to decay, their revenues and privileges were mostly given to the Maturine friars; and but two houses of this order continued to the dissolution.

Besides the Benedictine and Gilbertine nuns already mentioned, there were also Cluniac, Cistertian, Carthusian, Augustine, and Præmonstratensian nuns; who followed the same rules as the monks of their respective orders, omitting only what was not proper for their sex; and wore habits of the same colour, having their heads covered with a veil: and also nuns of Fontevraud, St. Clare, and Brigithries.

The nuns of Fontevraud were instituted about the year 1100, by Robert D'Arbrissel, at Fontevraud, near Poictiers. This order, which was a reformation of the Benedictines, was chiefly for women; yet, in France, both men and women of this order resided in the same convent, but in separate apartments; and, what was peculiar, under the government of an abbess, the founder grounding his model on the nineteenth chapter of St. John; where it is written, that Christ being on the cross, recommended St. John to the Virgin Mary, and commanded him to acknowledge

ledge her as his mother: in imitation whereof the male religious were to acknowledge the maternal authority of the abbess, or prioress.

This order was approved of by Pope Pascal. The abbess of Fontevraud was made the general superioress of the order. These nuns were brought into England by Robert Bossu, earl of Leicester, before the year 1161, and placed at Nun-Eaton, in Warwickshire. There were only two other houses of this order in the kingdom. There is no express account that any monk belonged to them; but that there did is probable, as a prior is mentioned at Nun-Eaton (f). Their habit was a kind of tunic, or cassock of the natural colour of the wool, and over it a large black garment.

The nuns of the order of St. Clare were instituted about the year 1212, by one Clara, a religious virgin, at Assisi in Italy, the place of her birth; where she lived some time with St. Francis, whose discipline and habit she adopted for her nuns; on which account they were frequently called Minoresses; and their house, without Aldgate, the Minories. They were also sometimes, on account of their poverty, stiled the Poor Clares.

This order was confirmed by the Popes Innocent III. and Honorius III. by the latter, A. D. 1223, after which it was divided into a stricter and less rigid sort.

They were brought into England by Blanch, queen of Navarre, wife to Edmund, earl of Lancaster, Leicester, and Darby, about the year 1293, and placed without Aldgate, London; besides which, this order had only three houses in England; viz. Waterbeacle and Denny, in Cambridgeshire, and Brusyard, in Suffolk.

The Bridgettine nuns were so called from their institutrix, Bridget, princess, or duchess of Nerica, in Sweden; who, in the

(f) In France the nuns wear a black habit, with a white veil and beirs; at church, a long black gown, with large sleeves. The monks are all in black, as secular priests; but upon the cassocks they have a camail, as the French bishops; at the bottom of which hang two little square pieces of the same stuff, one before and the other behind. *Emillianne.*

year 1360, went to Rome, and obtained the approbation of Pope Urban V. for an order of nuns which she had instituted, as she pretended, by the express command of Christ himself, by whom the rules were dictated: whence these religious were also called nuns of Our Holy Saviour: their rule was nearly that of St. Augustine.

This order, though chiefly for women, had likewise men in every convent. Their monasteries were built double: in one half, which was separated from the other by a high wall, dwelt the women under the direction of an abbess; and the other half was inhabited by the men.

The church was so contrived, that it served for both; the men having the lower, and the nuns the upper part of it. The men were to attend to the spiritual matters, the women to the temporal; and, in case of a too scanty endowment, were to work for the maintenance of themselves and the brethren: but both men and women were to obey the abbess. The men were not permitted to approach the nuns, except in cases of absolute necessity.

This order differed from all others, in requiring a particular number of men and women in every house; viz. sixty nuns, thirteen priests, four deacons, and eight lay brothers, in all eighty-five; to represent Christ's thirteen apostles, including St. Paul, and seventy-two disciples. Their habit was a tunic of coarse grey woollen, with a cloak of the same.

The nuns had on their veils five small pieces of red cloth, representing Christ's five wounds: the priests, a red cross on their breasts, with a circular piece of white cloth in the middle, to represent the hoste; the deacons a white circle, within which were four small pieces of red cloth, to represent tongues; and the laymen wore a white cross, with five red pieces, representing the five wounds. Of this order there was only one house in England; namely, that of Sion in Middlesex, founded by King Henry V. about the year 1414.

These conclude the catalogue of the different sorts of monks, canons, and nuns, formerly resident in England and Wales. We come next to the friars.

The

The first were the Dominicans; whose founder was St. Dominic, a Spaniard, born at Calagueraga, a small town in Old Castile, about the year 1070. These were likewise called preaching friars, and black friars: the former, from their office, whereby they were directed to preach, and convert heretics; the latter, from the colour of their garments.

In France, they are also named Jacobins; from the situation of their first house, which stood in St. James's-street, at Paris. Their rule, which was chiefly that of St. Augustine, was verbally approved of by Pope Innocent III. in the Lateran Council, A. D. 1215; and by the bull of Pope Honorius III. A. D. 1216. At first they wore the habit of the Augustine canons; but, about the year 1219, exchanged it for a white cassock, with a white hood over it; and when they went abroad, a black cloak and hood over their white vestments. They came into England, A. D. 1221; and that year had their first house at Oxford. At the dissolution, there were of this order about forty-three houses. There were likewise Dominican nuns, but none of them ever reached England.

The Franciscan, Grey, or Minor Friars, was an order thus variously called: the first, from St. Francis D'Assisi, their founder; the second, from the colour of their habit; and the third, from an affected humility. Their rule was framed by St. Francis, A. D. 1209; approved of by Pope Innocent III. A. D. 1210; and by the General Lateran Council, A. D. 1215.

Their habit was a loose garment of coarse grey cloth, reaching to their heels, a cowl of the same, and, when they went abroad, a cloak. They girded themselves with a cord, and went bare-foot.

Authors differ as to the exact time when they were introduced into England; but the general, and most probable opinion is, that it was about the year 1224. They had their first house at Canterbury, and their second at London.

By degrees, this order relaxing from the strictness of their original discipline, a reformation was set on foot, about the year 1400, by St. Bernard, or Bernardin of Sienna; and was confirmed by

by the council of Constance, A. D. 1414; and afterwards received the approbation of Eugenius IV. and other Popes. Those who professed this reformed rule were called Observants, or Recollects. (g)

They are commonly said to have been brought into England by King Edward IV. but Tanner says, "I find no certain account of their being here, till King Henry VII. built two or three houses for them."

At the dissolution, the Conventual Franciscans had about fifty-five houses, under seven distinct custodies or wardenships, viz. those of London, York, Cambridge, Bristol, Oxford, Newcastle, and Worcester.

The Trinitarians, Maturines, or Friars of the order of the Holy Trinity for the redemption of captives, were instituted by John de Martha and Felix de Valois, in France, about the year 1197. They followed the rule of St. Augustine; to which were added some particular constitutions; the chief of these were, that all the money or goods that should fall into their hands, were to be divided into three parts; one of which was to be employed in works of charity, one for their maintenance, and the third to be expended in the redemption of captives taken by the infidels. Their churches were to be all dedicated to the Holy Trinity; which procured them the name of Trinitarians.

The appellation of Maturines they owed to their first house being situated near St. Mathurine's chapel in Paris: by their rule they were also forbidden to travel on horseback, but might ride on asses.

Their habit was white, having on the breast a cross, half red and half blue, given them by Pope Innocent III. who confirmed their order, and to whom, whilst saying mass, a hideous phantom had appeared; it was habited in a like dress, and holding in its hands two slaves, bound in chains; which vision made him re-

(a) As to the Capuchins, and other distinctions of the Franciscans beyond the seas, they chiefly arose since the English reformation, and never had any place here.

solve

solve to establish an order, whose business it should be to redeem captive Christians.

These friars were brought into England, A. D. 1224; and on the decay of the order of the canons of the holy sepulchre, their revenues were given to them.

Their first house was at Mottendan in Kent; or, according to some, at Ingham in Norfolk, as long as that house was of this order; from whence they were called of the order of Ingham. (h) These friars had about ten or twelve houses in England and Wales.

The Carmelites pretend that the prophet Elias was the institutor of their order, and was the first Carmelite; and that he never left them any written rule. But the true time of their foundation was the year 1122, by Albert, patriarch of Jerusalem, who with a few hermits, resided on Mount Carmel in Palestine; from whence they were driven, about the year 1238, by the Saracens: they were also called White friars, and friars of the Virgin Mary; the first on account of the colour of their habits; the latter by the direction of Pope Honorius III. who, anno 1224, confirmed their rule, which is chiefly that of St. Basil.

They were brought into England A. D. 1240, by the lords John Vesey and Richard Grey: their first houses were at Alnwick in Northumberland, and Ailesford in Kent; at the latter of these places they held their first European chapter, A. D. 1245. Their habits, it is said, were at first white; but being obliged by the Infidels to make them party-coloured, they continued to wear them so fifty years after their arrival in England; but about the year 1290, changed them again for white. Of this order there were, in England and Wales, about forty houses.

The crossed or crouched friars were instituted, or at least reformed, by one Gerard, prior of St. Mary of Morello, at Bo-

(h) Friars Robertines, instituted by Robert Flower, the devout hermit of Knaresburgh, who lived in King John's reign, are spoken of by Leland as a branch of the Trinitarians; but I have hitherto met with so little concerning these Robertines, that I can say nothing certain of them; and doubt whether there really was any such order. *Tanner.*

logna: and in the year 1169, confirmed by Pope Alexander III. who brought them under the rule of St. Augustine; to which he added some constitutions for their better government. This order came into England A. D. 1244; their first house was at Colchester. At first, they carried in their hands a cross fixed to a staff; but afterwards wore a cross of red cloth on their backs and breasts. Their habit was blue, by the particular direction of Pope Pius II. There were not here, of these friars, more than six or seven houses.

The origin of the Augustine friars, or friars Eremites, of the the order of St. Augustine, is extremely uncertain. Their first appearance in England was about the year 1250: their habit was, when in the house, a white robe, with a scapulary; which, when they went abroad, they covered with a sort of cowl, and a large hood, both black, which were girded with a black leather thong, At the suppression they had, in England and Wales, about thirty-two houses.

Of the original of the friars of the Sack, and the Bethlemite friars, there is no account. They appeared in England both in the same year, viz. A. D. 1257; the true stile of the former was friars of the penance of Jesus Christ: but they were commonly called friars of the Sack; either from the fashion of their habit, or its materials, which perhaps were of sackcloth. This order was of short continuance here, being abolished by the Council at Lyons, A. D. 1307; their first house seems to have been near Aldersgate in London.

The rule and habit of the Bethlemite friars much resembled that of the Dominicans; except that the former had a red star, of five rays, with a blue circle in the middle, which they wore on their breasts, in memory of the star which conducted the wise men to Bethlehem. They appear to have had only that house in which they were placed at their coming into England. It was in Trumpington Street, at Cambridge.

The order of St. Anthony of Vienna was instituted, A. D. 1095, by one Gaston Frank. Their principal care was to serve those afflicted

afflicted with the disorder called St. Anthony's fire, from the relicks of that saint being particularly efficacious in its cure. (i) The friars of this order followed the rule of St. Augustine, and wore a black habit, with the letter T of a blue colour, on their breasts. They came hither early in the reign of King Henry III. and had one house at London, and another at Hereford.

"Of the Friars de Pica (says Tanner) who had an house at Norwich, I have met with nothing but what the author there says of them; unless they were the Freres Pies, a sort of religious that wore black and white garments, mentioned by Walsingham, page 124."

The last order of friars which visited this kingdom, was that of Bonhommes, or Good Men. They were brought hither, A. D. 1283, by Edmund, earl of Cornwall, and placed at Asherug in Bucks; besides which, there occurs but one other house of this order in England; viz. at Edingdon in Wiltshire. These friars followed the rule of St. Augustine, and wore a blue habit. The superiors of their convents were called rectors; and one of them was styled president of the order.

Of the military orders, there were only two in England; the knights hospitalars, and the knights templars.

The order of the knights hospitalars, or knights of St. John of Jerusalem, took its name from an hospital built at Jerusalem, for the use of pilgrims visiting the Holy Sepulchre; some mer-

(i) St. Anthony is sometimes represented with a fire by his side, signifying that he relieves persons from the inflammation called after his name: but always accompanied by a hog, on account of his having been a swine-herd, and curing all disorders in that animal. Both painters and poets have made very free with this saint and his followers: the former, by the many ludicrous pictures of his temptation; and the latter, by divers epigrams on his disciples, or friars: one of which is the following, printed in Stephens's World of Wonders.

Once fedd'st thou, Anthony, an herd of swine,
And now an herd of monks thou feedest still.
For wit and gut alike both charges bin;
Both loven filth alike; both like to fill
Their greedy paunch alike: nor was that kind
More beastly, sottish, swinish, than this last.
All else agrees: one fault I only find,
Thou feedest not they monks with oaken mast.

chants

chants of the city of Melphi, in the kingdom of Naples, who traded into the east, having obtained the permission of the caliph of Egypt for its erection. It was dedicated to St. John.

The community afterwards increasing, by the foundation of two new churches, they took upon themselves the protection of pilgrims.

The order was instituted about the year 1092; and was particularly favoured by Godfrey of Boullogne, on account of their assistance in taking the Holy City; and also by his successor Baldwin.

Their rule was nearly that of St. Augustine: besides which, they obliged themselves by their vows to receive, treat and defend pilgrims; and to maintain by force of arms the Christian religion in their country. This order was composed of eight nations; but, since the separation of the English from the church of Rome, has only seven.

On the ruin of the Christian affairs in the east, they were obliged to leave Jerusalem, and settled at Rhodes; and, after the loss of that island, anno 1522, the emperor Charles V. gave them the island of Malta: from these changes they have successively been called knights hospitalars, of Rhodes, and of Malta.

They came into England soon after their institution, and had a house built for them in London, A. D. 1100. Their habit was a black cassock, with a white cross. From a poor and mean beginning, (k) they obtained such riches, honours, and exemptions, that their superior here in England was the first lay-baron, and had a seat amongst the lords in parliament; and some of their privileges were extended even to their tenants.

There were also sisters of this order; but we had only one house of them in England, viz. Buckland, in Somersetshire.

(k) They are said, at first, to have had but one horse between two of them; but, about an hundred and fifty years after their institution, they had nineteen thousand manors in Christendom. Their wealth and privileges probably made them sometimes insolent; for by Pat. 45 Ed. III. p. 1, m. 3, vel. 4, "Rex constituit Ricardum de Everton visitatorem hospitalis St. Johannis Jerusalem in Anglia, ad reprimendam religiosorum insolentiam, et ad observandam religionis honestatem." Those of this order were all laymen, except two or three to perform divine offices.

The

The knights templars, so called from having their first residence in some rooms adjoining to the Temple of Solomon, arose in the year 1118, at Jerusalem; Hugo of Paganis, Geoffry of St. Omer's, and seven others, whose names have not reached the present times, consecrating themselves to the service of God, after the manner of the regular canons of St. Augustine, and binding themselves to guard the roads for the security of pilgrims; at first subsisting by alms. Their habit was white, with a red cross on the left shoulder.

Their coming into England was in the beginning of the reign of King Stephen; their first residence in Holborn. They encreased very fast; and, in a short time, obtained great possessions. (l) Their flourishing condition, here and abroad, excited both the avarice and envy of the pope, several princes, and the whole body of religious.

Pope Clement, in particular, dexterously made use of the covetous humour of Philip le Bel, king of France, to persuade him to extirpate them out of his dominions; which he agreed to do, on condition of being invested with their estates.

The same argument was probably used with other princes, who considered them as a formidable body. They therefore, to keep up an appearance of justice, accused the whole order of horrid crimes: whereupon the knights were every where imprisoned, their estates seized, and their order suppressed by Pope Clement V. anno 1309; and totally abolished by the Council of Vienna, A. D. 1312. The superior of this order was styled master of the temple, and was often summoned to parliament.

The order of St. Lazarus of Jerusalem (of which we had a few houses) seems to have been founded for the relief and support of lepers and impotent persons of the military orders.

Having thus slightly touched upon the different religious orders (m) which

(l) Matthew Paris says, p. 544, That they had nine thousand manors in Christendom: and at their suppression, they had (according to Heylin's Cosmogr. lib. 3.) sixteen thousand lordships besides other lands. *See Rapin's Folio Edit. vol.* 1. *p.* 403.

(m) The names of the orders delineated in the annexed plate, follow in the same succession in which the figures stand; beginning with the nun on the left, and reckoning towards the right:

which once over-ran this country, it will be necessary to say something of their houses, and the officers thereto belonging.

Under the general title of religious houses, are comprehended cathedral and collegiate churches, abbies, priories, colleges, hospitals, preceptories, and friaries.

Of the cathedral churches as they still remain, little need be said. It may however be necessary to observe, that in the conventual cathedrals, the bishop was in the place of the abbot, and had the principal stall on the right hand of the entrance into the choir, as he still hath at Ely, and till lately had at Durham and Carlisle.

Collegiate churches and colleges consisted of a number of secular canons, living together, under the government of a dean, warden, provost, or master; and had belonging to them, for the more solemn performance of divine service, chaplains, singing-men, and choristers.

An abbey was a religious society of men or women, living together under the government of an abbot or abbess. Of these some were so considerable, that the abbots were called to parliament, (n) and sat and voted in the House of Lords, had episcopal power within

right: the same order is observed with respect to the sitting figures.—A Benedictine nun; a monk of the same order; a Cluniac, a Cistertian and a Carthusian; a nun of St. Gilbert; a regular canon of the same; a Trinitarian; a knight templar; a knight hospitallar; a secular canon; a canon regular of the Præmonstratensians. The sitting figures are, a regular canon of St. Augustine; a regular canon of the Holy Sepulchre; a canon of the Hospital of St. John at Coventry; Chaplain of the order of St. John of Jerusalem.

(n) The oracle of the law saith, 2 Instit. p. 585, "Twenty-six abbots and two priors had baronies, and thereby were lords of parliament." In 1 Instit. 97, he saith, "There were an hundred and eighteen monasteries, founded by kings of England; whereof such as held *per baroniam*, and were called to parliament by writ, were lords of parliament, and had places and voices there; but not if they were not called by writ; for Feversham was founded by King Stephen to hold by barony; but the abbot not being called to parliament, did not sit there." This is also in Weaver, p. 113.

Cowell, *sub voce* Mitred, saith, These abbots were not called to parliament, because they were mitred, but because they received their temporals from the king.

Collier, Ecc. Hist. vol. ii. p. 164, saith, they held of the king *in capite per baroniam*; their endowment being at least an entire barony, which consisted of thirteen knights fees, and thereby they were advanced to the state and dignity of spiritual lords: but of the parliamentary abbies, some were founded by subjects, some by kings of Mercia, &c. and about eight only by kings of England.

The abbot of Thorney pleaded, A. D. 1338, that he did not hold by barony, but by frankalmoigne; Collect. Wren. vol. ii. p. 18, ex reg. Sim. Episc. Eliens. and yet was then called

to



RELIGIOUS ORDERS.

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within the limits of their houses, (o) gave solemn benediction, confirmed the lesser orders, wore mitres, (p) sandals, &c. and carried crosses or pastorals in their hands, and some of their houses were exempted from the jurisdiction even of the archbishop, (q) and subject to the pope alone. Fuller says, that in the 49th of Henry

to parliament, as Fuller, book vi. p. 292, and Stevens's Append. p. 15: the prior of Coventry likewise pleaded, 14 Rich. II. that he did not hold *per baroniam*, as Mon. Angl. vol. i. p. 305.

The abbey of Bardney was valued at no more than 429l. 7s *per annum* in the whole, and 366l. 6s. 1d. clear: and there were several abbies and priories which had much greater temporals, and consequently were entire baronies, which were not parliamentary: 'tis possible these last might not receive their temporals from the crown, nor hold them *in capite*, and Bardney might; but I rather think this privilege was chiefly owing to the favour of the king; who might, in other cases, as well as that of Tavistock, call an house of the foundation of his ancestors, which was not really so: Fuller's Church Hist. book vi. p. 293.

All the parliamentary abbots and priors had houses in Westminster, London, or Southwark, to live in whilst the parliament sat. *Tanner.*

(o) See the grant of a mitre to the abbot of Malmsbury, in Wilkins's Councils, vol. iii. p. 142, 143: "Abbas Samson fecit novum sigillum, quod cum mitra esset pingendum, licet predecessores sui tale non haberent; et primus inter abbates Angliæ impetravit, quod daret episcopalem benedictionem solemniter ubicunque fuerit." Joc. Brakeland, in Chron. St. Edm. Bur. M S. He was abbot from A. D. 1182, to 1211, or 1212.

"Thomas de Marleberg, abbas Evesham primo sculpsit super duas tumbas predecessorum suorum ad honorem et ostensionem dignitatis ecclesie imagines episcopales, et sibi ipsi cum eisdem fecit mausoleum, et incidit in lapide marmoreo superposito imaginem episcopalem ad honorem ecclesiæ: obiit A. D. 1236." We may hereby see when these practices began. *Tanner.*

(p) But their mitres differed a little from those of the bishops, they also carried their crosiers in their left hands, and the abbots carried them in their right hands: as Austind, in Append. to Dr. Fiddes's Life of Cardinal Wolsey, p. 113.

In the procession roll, the third of Henry VIII. the parliamentary abbots are drawn with barons caps, not mitres; as M. S. Ashmol. Oxon. n. 13: but in the parliament-house, the fifteenth of Henry VIII. they are drawn with mitres on their heads; as Fiddes's Life of Wolsey, p. 303.

(q) Cowel, *voce* Abbat, saith, such as were mitred were exempted from the jurisdiction of the diocesan, having themselves episcopal authority within their limits; and Godolphin, in Repert. Eccl. hath almost the same words; but Reyner, tr. ii. p. 55, saith, that St. Alban's Westminster, St. Augustine's, Canterbury, St. Edmund's Bury, and Eversham, only were exempt, except perhaps Glastonbury.

It is more likely that several others of them obtained that privilege, as Burnet Reformat. vol. i. p. 187: however, their exemption from their diocesans, being honoured with the mitre, and called to parliament, certainly depended on different grants; for the Abbot of Malmsbury was one of the twenty-five fixed upon for parliamentary abbots, by king Edward III. as Fuller, book vi. p. 292. But he had not a grant of the episcopal ornaments and authority till the third of Richard II; though he was before that exempt from his diocesan, as appears from the grant in Wilkins's Councils, vol. iii. p. 142.

Peterborough

Henry III. sixty-four abbots, and thirty-six priors were summoned to parliament; but this being thought too many, King Edward III. reduced them to twenty-five abbots, and two priors; to whom were afterwards added the abbots of Tavistock and Tewksbury; making in all twenty-nine: these, and no more, constantly enjoyed this privilege. A list of them see in the note (r).

A priory was a society of religious, where the chief person was termed a prior or prioress; and of these there were two sorts.

Peterborough also was allowed to be a parliamentary abbey, by king Edward III; as Fuller, book vi. p. 292; but William Genge was, about the twenty-first of Richard II. the first mitred abbot; and both abbot and convent were visited by the bishop of Lincoln about eighty years afterwards; viz. in A. D. 1483; as Guntun's Peterborough, with Patrick's Supplement, p. 49, 323, and 328.

The abbot of Tavistock obtained the mitre the 36th of Henry VI. but was not called to parliament till the 5th of Henry VIII. and was not exempted from the bishop of the diocese till three years after; as Austin. in Append. to Fiddes's Life of Wolsey, p. 112.

The prior of Durham had the use of the mitre and pastoral staff, from about A. D. 1374; as Ang. Sacr. vol. i. p. 769, and Willis's Abbeys, vol. i. p. 262, though never called to parliament: and in the register of Oliv. King, bishop of Bath and Wells, there is a grant from Pope Alexander VI. for the priors of Taunton (who were not parliamentary) having episcopal authority, and all the ornaments but the mitre, which I never met another instance of, and therefore insert an abstract of the grant.

" Alexander episcopus servus servorum Dei, dilecto filio Joanni priori et conv. de Tanton, salutem: ut tu et successores tui annulo pastorali, baculo almucciis et aliis pontificalibus insigniis (citra tamen mitram) uti; nec non indicto monasterio et prioratibus, et ecclesiis illi subjectis benedictionem solennem post missarum, vesperarum, completorum, et divinorum officiorum solennia (dummodo in benedictione hujusmodi aliquis antistes aut apostolicæ sedis legatus præsens non sit) populo elargiri; canonicos quoque et chorales dicti monasterii ad minores ordines promovere; licite valeatis. Dat. 4. Non. Maii, A. D. 1499."

(r) The abbots of Tewksbury, the prior of Coventry, the abbots of Waltham, Cirencester, St. John's at Colchester, Croiland, Shrewsbury, Selby, Bardney, St. Bennet's of Hulme, Thorney, Hide, Winchelcomb, Battel, Reading, St. Mary's in York, Ramsey, Peterborough, St. Peter's in Gloucester, Glastonbury, St. Edmondsbury, St. Augustine, Canterbury, St. Alban's, Westminster, Abingdon, Eversham, Malmsbury and Tavistock, and the prior of St. John of Jerusalem, who was styled " Primus Angliæ baro;" but it was with respect to the lay barons only, for he was the last spiritual one.

I have here set down the first twenty-four of them, in the order they went to parliament the 3d of Henry VIII. Hearne thinks that they took place in the House of Lords according to the seniority of their creation. But Anstis, Garter king of arms, is of opinion, " that some of the abbots, like the bishops, had by virtue of their abbies, a certain fixed precedency; and that others of them took place according to the priority of their creation." Many have assigned the first place to the abbot of St. Alban's, because St. Alban was the first martyr in this kingdom.

The abbot of Leicester, and the prior of St. James's, near Northampton, was sometimes called to parliament, after King Edward III. had reduced the number. *Tanner.*

First

First, when the prior had the supreme government, as fully as an abbot in his abbey, and was elected by the convent; such were the cathedral priors, and most of the Augustine order.

Secondly, where the priory was a cell, subordinate to some abbey, and the prior was nominated and displaced at the discretion of the abbot: and in these cells there was a considerable difference; some being so entirely subjected to their respective abbies, that they might send them what officers they thought proper, and increase or decrease their number of monks at pleasure; whilst others consisted of a certain stated number of monks, who had a prior sent them from the abbey, to whom they paid an annual stipend, as an acknowledgement of their subordination, but acted in other matters as an independent body, and had the rest of their revenues for their own use.

These priories or cells were always of the same order as the abbies on which they depended, though sometimes of a different sex; it being customary after the conquest, for the great abbies to build nunneries in some of their manors, which were cells, or priories to them, and subject to their visitation (s).

Some of those houses which were originally priories were turned into abbies; as Wymondham in Norfolk, and Walden in Essex: but this was looked upon as an injury to the patron, and sometimes forbidden by the founder; as at Cartmele in Lancashire. One instance likewise occurs of an abbey being degraded to a priory, because the revenues were not sufficient to support the state and dignity of an abbot: this was Cumbwell in Kent.

(s) To be sent to a monastery was, in many cases, the punishment of an offending secular priest; as Can. 61 and 77 of A. D. 740, in Johnson's Collect. of Canons. To be sent to a cell was, in some cases, the punishment of an offending monk. Mat. Paris, p. 1046. Reyner's Append. p. 125, 160. And that some of them were there obliged to hard labour, appears from the register of John Romane, archbishop of York, anno primo pontif. "Pœnitentia injuncta monacho de Novoburgo qui sub religioso habitu diutius vagus in seculo extitit: moretur apud hoc cellam, ubi agriculture vacet, et caudam aratri teneat loco cujusdem mercenarii soliti hujusmodi officio deputari; quarta sexta et feria, pane, cerevisia, et leguminibus tantem modo sit contentus; tres disciplinas in hebdomada recipiat a canonico præsidente ibidem." And when a monk was refractory or quarrelsome in his own house, he was sent to another to be punished; as Reyner's Append. p. 125, 160. "Inobediens monachus de Tanton missus ad prioratum St. Germani in Cornubia ad incarcerandum expœnitandum." Reg. Rad. de Salopia Episc. Bath et Wallens, sub A. D. 1351. *Tanner.*

Priories alien were cells to foreign monasteries; for when manors or tythes were given to foreign houses, they, in order to have faithful stewards on the spot to collect their revenues, built convenient houses for the reception of a small convent, and peopled them with priors, and such a number of monks as they thought proper: this at the same time increased their order.

There was the same difference in these cells, as between the former: some of them being conventual had the liberty of choosing their own priors, and of receiving their revenues; of which, at first, they remitted to the foreign house what was more than necessary for their immediate subsistence: this was afterwards changed into a certain regular annuity, called apportus; which being paid, the surplus remained to the convent. The others were immediately dependent on the foreign house, who received their income, allowing them such portion for their maintenance as they thought proper: priors were appointed over them from abroad, and the monks were exchanged at pleasure.

As these monasteries consisted chiefly of foreigners, who might give intelligence to our enemies, and who besides greatly impoverished the kingdom by draining it continually of considerable sums, their estates were generally seized on the breaking out of a war with France, and restored on the return of peace; and at length, most of them were, by act of parliament, given to the king; which was a kind of prelude to the general dissolution.

Preceptories were a kind of cells to the principal houses of knights templars in London, under the government of an officer, created by the grand master one of the "Preceptores Templi." Their business was to take care of their lands and rents in that place and neighbourhood.

Commandries were, under another name, the same to the knights hospitallars as preceptories were to the templars. The chief officer was called a commander.

Hospitals were houses of relief for poor and impotent persons; (t) and

(t) Besides the poor and impotent, there generally were in these hospitals two or three religious; one to be master, or prior, and one or two to be chaplains and confessors: and these observed

and were incorporated by royal patents, and made capable of gifts and grants in succession.

Friaries were erected for the habitation of friars; who being mendicants, and by their rules, incapable of holding any property, they were rarely endowed, (u); yet most of their houses had some shops and gardens belonging to them. Many of these friaries were large and stately buildings, and had noble churches, in which many great persons chose to be buried. (v)

For the inferior religious foundations, such as hermitages, chauntries and free chapels, see the note. (w)

It

observed the rule of St. Austin, and probably subjected the poor and impotent to some religious restraints, as well as to the local statutes.

Hospitals were originally designed for the relief and entertainment of travellers upon the road, and particularly of pilgrims, and therefore were generally built upon the road-side: but of later years they have been always founded for fixed inhabitants. *Tanner.*

(u) The Dominicans of King's Langley were endowed with 122l. per annum.

(v) These houses received considerable benefits from the burials of great personages within their churches. The friars did not fail to promote it on all occasions: and, if they could not get the whole body, would at least procure a limb, or part.

Thomas of Walsingham, speaking of the burial of Queen Eleanor's heart in the church of the Friars Minors in London, thus expresses himself; Qui (meaning the friars) sicuti & cunctl fratres reliquorum ordinum, aliquod de corporibus quorumcunque potentium morientium sibimet vindicabant, more canum cadaveribus assistentium, ubi quisque suam particulam avidè consumendam expectat."

(w) Hermitages were religious cells, erected in private and solitary places, for single persons, or communities; many times endowed, and sometimes annexed to larger religious houses. Vide Kennet's Glossary in voce Hermitorium. Mon. Angl. vol. ii. p. 339. Thoresby's Leeds, p. 91.

The hermits of cells not endowed are spoken of as common beggars in pat. 13 Ed. III. p. 1, m. 8, et p. 2. m. 22. Chauntries were endowments of lands, or other revenues, for the maintenance of one or more priests, to say daily mass for the soul of the founder, and his relations and benefactors: sometimes at a particular altar, and oftentimes in little chapels added to cathedral and parochial churches for that purpose. See Godolph. Repert. p. 329. Fuller, book vi. p. 350. Weaver, p. 733.

Free chapels were places of religious worship, exempt from all jurisdiction of the ordinary; save only that the incumbents were generally constituted by the bishop, and inducted by the archdeacon of the place. Most of these chapels were built upon the manors and ancient demesnes of the crown, whilst in the king's hands, for the use of himself and retinue, when he came to reside there: as Kennet's Glossary, in voce Demesne, and in case of appropriations, p. 6. And when the crown parted with those estates, the chapels went along with them, and retained their first freedom; but some lords having had free chapels in manors that do

not

It is to be observed, that different founders are frequently assigned by the monastic writers to the same house; a first, second, third, and even a sixth founder sometimes occurring: the fact is, they bestowed that appellation not only on the first endower, to whom only it properly belonged, but also gave it to every great benefactor, who either restored the ancient foundation, after it had been ruined by fire or any other calamity, or made any considerable addition to it. (x) The successor of the founders, and patrons or chief lords of the fee, (y) are likewise many times styled founders. (z)

In every abbey, the chief officer was the abbot, or abbess; (a) who presided in great pomp, was generally called the lord abbot, or lady abbess, and had a kitchen, and other offices, distinct from the common ones of the society. The next in rank and authority, in every abbey, was the prior; (b) under whom was the sub-prior; and in great abbies, a third, fourth, and even a fifth prior. These, as well as all the other obedientarii, were removeable at the will of the abbot. In every priory, the prior was the supreme head; under whom was the sub-prior, who assisted him when present, and ruled the house in his absence. The priors had the same power in their priories, as the abbots and abbesses in their abbies; but lived in a less expensive and pompous manner: though in some of the greater houses, they were stiled the lord prior and lady prioress.

not appear to have been ancient demesnes of the crown, such are thought to have been built and privileged by grants of the crown. See Bishop Gibson's Codex, p. 237. Yet Mr. Newcourt saith, that, A. D. 1521, Bishop Fitzjames converted a decayed chauntry at Rainham in Essex, with the consent of the patron, into a free chapel; to be held with all its rights, and governed by an honest and literate layman; without mentioning any grant from the crown for it. See his Repert. vol. ii. p. 482.

(x) Sir John Biconill was admitted one of the founders of the Franciscan Friars at Dorchester, for having built mills near to, and for the benefit of the convent. *As Stevens, vol. i. p.* 93.

(y) When the founder's family was extinct, the lord of the fee became patron of course. *As Kennet's Glossary, sub. tit. Advowson of Religious Houses.*

(z) In Leland's Collect. we often meet with "Fundator originalis et fundator modernus;" but the last was then the patron only.

(a) From abba pater, quia pater monachorum. *Godolph. Repert.*——They were generally wrote "A divinâ permissione abbas." *Decem. Script. col.* 2059 *and* 2157.

(b) Every prior was to be in priest's orders, by decree of the council at London, A. D. 1126. *Wilkins's Councils, vol. i. p.* 408.

The

The following were the six principal officers in the monastery of Croyland, and perhaps in most others:

First, Magister Operis, or master of the fabric; who probably had the care of the buildings of and belonging to the monastery, and whose business it was to survey and keep them in repair.

Eleemosynarius, or the almoner; who superintended the alms of the house, which were every day distributed to the poor at the gate of the monastery; divided the alms upon the founder's day, and at other obits and anniversaries; and in some places, had the care of the maintenance and education of the choristers.

Pietantiarius, who had the distribution of the pietancies; which were allowances, upon particular occasions, over and above the common provisions.

Sacrista, or sexton, to whose care were committed the vessels, books, and vestments, belonging to the church; and who looked after, and accounted for the oblations at the great altar, and other altars or images in the church; and such legacies as were given either to the fabric or for utensils: he likwise provided bread and wine for the sacrament, and took care of burying the dead.

Camerarius, or the chamberlain, had the management of the dormitory, provided the bedding for the monks, with razors and towels for shaving them; likewise, part, if not all their clothing.

Cellerarius, or the cellarer, whose office it was to provide all sorts of provisions and liquors consumed in the convent; as also firing and kitchen utensils.

Besides these, there were thesaurarius, or the bursar; who received all the common rents and revenues of the monastery, and paid all the common expences.

Præcentor, or chaunter, who had the chief direction of the choir service; and not only presided over the singing-men and choristers, but provided them with books, paid their salaries, and repaired the organs; he had also the custody of the seal, kept the Liber Diurnalis, or Chapter Book, and provided parchment and ink for the writers, and colours for the limners employed in writing and illuminating books for the library.

Hostilarius, or Hospitilarius, whose business it was to manage the entertainment of strangers, and to provide them with necessaries.

Infirmarius, who had the care of the Infirmary, and of the sick monks carried there, for whom he was to provide physic, and other necessaries; and to wash and prepare for burial the bodies of the dead: he was likewise to shave all the monks in the convent.

Refectionarius, who looked after the refectory, and provided table cloths, napkins, glasses, dishes, plates, spoons, and other requisites, and even servants to wait at table: he had the custody of the cups, salts, ewers, and all the silver utensils whatsoever belonging to the house, except the church plate. (c)

There was likewise coquinarius, or the cook; gardinarius, or the gardener; and portorius, or the porter; et in cœnobiis quæ jus archidiaconale in prædiis et ecclesiis suis obtinuerant, erat monachus qui archidiaconi titulo et munere insignitus est. (d)

Every great abbey had a room called the scriptorium; where several scribes were employed in transcribing books for the library. They sometimes, indeed, wrote the ledger-books of the house, the missals, and other books used in divine service; but were chiefly employed on other works, such as the fathers, classics, or history: the monks in general, were so zealous for this work, that they often procured gifts of land and churches, to be solely appointed to the carrying of it on. Besides this, they had also particular persons appointed to take notice of and record the principal events that happened in the kingdom; which at the end of the year, were digested and formed into annals.

The foregoing accounts of the rise and progress of monastic foundations, with the particular description of the several orders, having rather stretched beyond the intended limits, I shall but briefly treat of the circumstances attending the general dissolution; and that the rather, as they are minutely mentioned in the general histories of England, and the memoirs of those times.

(c) In nunneries there was a correspondence of all these offices and officers, abbess, prioress, sub-prioress, sacristan or sexton, tresorier, chamberess, capellan, &c. *Willis's Abbies, vol ii. Append. p.* 1, 8, 20.

(d) The Worcester historian, in Ang. Sacr. p. 547. *See also Mon. Ang. vol. ii. p.* 378.

Anno

Anno 1534, King Henry having thrown off the papal yoke, and procured himself to be acknowledged by parliament the supreme head of the English church, the next year set on foot a general visitation of the religious houses; undoubtedly, in order to find a pretence for their suppression. It was begun in October, 1535, by one Dr. Layton, and others: many of their letters are extant; two of them, never before printed, are in the notes. (e) Burnet says, "the visitors went over England, and found, in many places, monstrous disorders; the sin of Sodom was found in many houses; great factions and barbarous cruelties were in others; and in some were

(e) Pleasith it your wurship to understand that yesternight we came from Glastonbury to Bristow. I here send you for relicks two flowers, wrapped up in black sarcenet; that on Christmas even (hora ipsa qua natus Christus fuerat) will spring and burgen, and bear flowers. Ye shall also receive a bag of relicks, wherein ye shall see strange things; as God's coat, our Lady's smock, part of God's supper in cœna Domini; pars petræ super quam natus erat Jesus in Bethlehem; belike Bethlehem affords plenty of stone. These are all of Maiden Bradley: whereof is a holy father priour, who hath but six children, and but one daughter married yet of the goods of the monastery, but trusting shortlie to marrie the rest: his sons be tall men, waiting upon him.

He thanks God he never meddled with married women: but all with maidens, fairest that could be gotten, and always married them right well. The pope, considering his fragilitie, gave him his licence to keep a whore; and he has good writing, sub plumbo, to discharge his conscience, and to chuse Mr. Underhill to be his ghostly father, and he to give him plenam remissionem. I send you also our Lady's girdle of Bruton, red silke, a solemn relick, sent to women in travail; Mary Magdalen's girdle, which Matilda the empress, founder of Fairley, gave with them, as sayeth the holy father of Fairley.—I have crosses of silver and gold, Sir, which I send you not now; because I have more to be delivered this night, by the priour of Maiden Bradley. There is nothing notable, the bretheren be kept so streight, that they cannot offend; but fain they would if they might, as they confess, and such fault is not in them.

R. Layton.

From St. Austin's without Bristol.

My singular good lord, &c. As touching the Abbot of Bury, nothing suspect as touching his living; but it was detected he lay much forth at Grainges, and spent much money in playing at cards and dice.—It is confessed and proved, that there was here such frequency of women, comyn and resortyng, as to no place more.—Among the relicks are found the coles St. Laurence was roasted withal; the paring of St. Edmund's nails; St. Thomas of Canterbury's penknife and books; and divers sculls for the head-ach; pieces of the Holy Cross, able to make a whole cross: other relicks, for rain, and for avoiding the weeds growing in corn, &c. From Bury St. Edmund's, Your servant bounden,

Joseph ap Rice.

These were copied from the original letters, written by R. Layton, and others, visitors of the religious houses, to Lord Cromwell, about the year 1537, preserved among Dodsworth's MS. collections, in the Bodleian library.

found

found tools for coining; the report contained many abominable things, that are not fit to be mentioned; some of them were printed, but the greatest part is lost: only a report of one hundred and forty-four houses is yet extant." Five houses made a voluntary surrender this year.

In 1536, an act was passed, suppressing all those monasteries whose revenues were under 200*l.* per annum. This act sets forth the great disorders of those houses, and the many unsuccessful attempts that had been made for their reformation. The religious who belonged to them, were directed to be put into the greater houses, where better discipline was observed, and their estates and goods were given to the king; and, by another act, a new court was erected, entitled the court of the augmentations of the king's revenue; which was to take care that the king was not defrauded of them.

It is to be noted, that the revenues of most of these houses, though valued at only 200*l.* per annum, greatly exceeded that sum, many of them being worth several thousands: this was owing to the monks never having raised their ancient rents; chusing rather to make their tenants pay a considerable fine, at the renewal of their leases; and according to these ancient rents they were estimated.

Visitors were now appointed to survey the lesser monasteries: "they were," says Burnet, "required to carry along with them the concurrence of the gentry near them, and to examine the estate of the revenues and goods, and take inventories of them; and to take their seals into their keeping: they were to try how many of the religious would take capacities, and return to a secular course of life; and these were to be sent to the Archbishop of Canterbury, or the Lord Chancellor for them; and an allowance was to be given them for their journey: but those who intended to continue in that state, were to be sent to some of the great monasteries that lay next.

A pension was also to be assigned to the abbot or prior during life; and of all this they were to make their report by Michaelmas: and they were particularly to examine what leases had been made all last year. The abbots hearing of what was coming on them, had been raising

raising all the money they could; and so it was intended to recover what was made away by ill bargains.

There were great complaints made of the proceedings of the visitors, of their violences and briberies; and perhaps not without reason. Ten thousand of the religious were set to seek for their livings, with forty shillings and a gown a man. Their goods and plate were estimated at 100,000*l.* and the valued rents of their houses was 32,000*l.* but was really above ten times so much. The churches and cloisters were in most places pulled down, and the materials sold." This gave a general discontent, and caused several unsucessful insurrections.

Henry having tasted the sweets arising from the suppression of the lesser monasteries, now resolved to possess himself of the revenues of the great ones; and accordingly, the next year, a fresh visitation was appointed; when the visitors were directed to enquire into the lives of the monks, how they stood affected towards the pope, and whether they acknowledged and promoted the king's supremacy.

They were likewise directed to enquire whether they made use of any impostures, or pretended miraculous images, to work upon the superstition of the credulous people; and, above all, underhand to endeavour, both by promises and threats, to influence them to surrender their houses to the king: which many of them, either conscious of their evil lives, having been engaged in the late insurrections, or attracted by the offer of a considerable pension, accordingly did; when they and their monks had pensions assigned them, proportionable to the value of the house.

Some abbots, relying on their innocence and irreproachable conduct, were more resolute, and absolutely refused: against these charges of high treason were instituted, on various pretences, and several of them were unjustly executed. Burnet is very particular in these transactions; see his account in the notes. (f) In 1539, the surrender

(f) A new visitation was appointed, to enquire into the conversation of the monks, to examine how they stood affected to the pope, and how they promoted the king's supremacy: they were likewise ordered to examine what impostures might be among them, either in images or relics; by which the superstition of the credulous people was wrought on.

surrender of all monasteries was confirmed by act of parliament; and in that year the total dissolution was completed.

This measure, though only fully accomplished by Henry VIII. had, from time to time, been attempted, and even partially put in execution, by many of our bishops, kings, and even some of the popes. From the days of Edgar to that prince, several of the instances

Some few houses, of great value, were prevailed with, the former year, to surrender to the king. Many houses that had not been dissolved, though they were within the former act, were now suppressed; and many of the greater abbots were wrought on to surrender by several motives. Some had been faulty during the rebellion, and so, to prevent a storm, offered a resignation: others liked the reformation, and did it on that account: some were found guilty of great disorders in their lives, and to prevent a shameful discovery, offered their houses to the king: and others had made such wastes and dilapidations, that, having taken care of themselves, they were less concerned for others. At St. Alban's, the rents were let so low, that the abbot could not maintain the charge of the abbey.

At Battel, the whole furniture of the house and chapel was not above 100*l.* in value, and their plate was not 300*l.* In some houses, there was scarce any plate or furniture left. Many abbots and monks were glad to accept of a pension for life; and that was proportioned to the value of their house, and to their innocence.

The abbots of St. Alban's and Tewksbury had 400 marks a-year. The abbot of St. Edmund's Bury was more innocent and more resolute: the visitors wrote that they found no scandals in that house: but at last he was prevailed with, by a pension of 500 marks, to resign.

The inferior governors had some 30, 20, or 10*l.* pensions; and the monks had generally six pounds, or eight marks apiece.

If any abbot died, the new abbot (they being chosen as the bishops were, upon a congé d'elire, and a missive letter) was named for that purpose, only to resign the house, and all were made to hope for advancement, that they should give good example to others, by a quick and chearful surrender: by these means, one hundred and twenty-one of those houses were this year resigned to the king.

In most houses, the visitors made the monks sign a confession of their former vices and disorders, of which there is only one original extant, that escaped the general rasure of all such papers in Queen Mary's time; in which they acknowledged, in a long narrative, "their former idleness, gluttony and sensuality; for which the pit of hell was ready to swallow them up: others acknowledged, that the manner of their former pretended religion consisted in some dumb ceremonies, by which they were blindly led, having no true knowledge of God's laws; but that they had procured exemption from their diocesans, and had subjected themselves wholly to a foreign power, that took no care to reform their abuses; and therefore, since the most perfect way of life was revealed by Christ and his apostles, and that it was fit they should be governed by the king their supreme head, they resigned to him."

Of this sort, I have seen six. Some resigned in hopes that the king would found them of new; these favoured the reformation, and intended to convert their houses to better uses; for preaching, study and prayer: and Latimer pressed Cromwell earnestly, that two or three houses might be reserved for such purposes in every county. But it was resolved to suppress all;

tances have already been mentioned in this work; but to bring them under one point of view, see the note. (g)

The chief reasons urged in its defence were, that the monks, notwithstanding their subscriptions, still retained their attachment to the pope; and would, on all occasions, have excited troubles in the kingdom against an excommunicated king. Their luxurious and debauched manner of living, (h) their pretended miracles and impostures,

all; and therefore, neither could the intercessions of the gentry of Oxfordshire, nor the visitors, preserve the nunnery of Godstow; though they found great strictness of life in it, and it was the common place of the education of young women of quality in that county. The common preamble to most surrenders was, "That upon full deliberation, and of their own proper motion, for just and reasonable causes moving their consciences, they did freely give up their houses to the king." Some surrendered, without any preamble, to the visitors, as feoffees, in trust for the king. In short they went on at such a rate, that one hundred and fifty-nine resignations were obtained before the parliament met; and of these, the originals of one hundred and fifty-four are yet extant. Some thought that these resignations could not be valid, since the incumbents had not the property, but only the trust for life of those houses, but the parliament did afterwards declare them good in law. It was also said, that they, being of the nature of corporations, all deeds under seals were valid; and that at least by their resignation and quitting their houses, they forfeited them to the king: but this was thought to subsist rather on a nicety in law, than natural equity.

(g) As to the dissolution of religious foundations, we may observe, that king Edgar, Archbishop Dunstan, and the bishops Ethelwold and Oswald, in the tenth century, ejected seculars, and put in regulars, as hath been before mentioned. Richard de Belmeis, by the authority of Pope Eugenius III. and King Stephen, turned a secular college into an abbey of Augustine canons, at Lilleshull: and Pope Alexander III. and King Henry II. turned the secular canons out of Waltham, and placed regulars there in their stead: and the order of templars was suppressed by Pope Clement V. A dissolution of the alien priories was brought about in the reign of Henry V. with the concurrence of several bishops, who purchased and procured their revenues, for the endowment of divers colleges by them founded: amongst these were William of Wickham, bishop of Winchester, and Archbishop Chicheley.—— King Henry VI. founded the College of Eton, and King's College, Cambridge, about the year 1441, and endowed them chiefly with alien priories: and William Waynfleet, bishop of Winchester, procured revenues of the priory of Sile, or Atsile, in Sussex, and the priory of Shelburn, in Hampshire, (though the founder of the latter had carefully forbidden such alteration) for the endowment of his foundation of Magdalene College, Oxford.——Cardinal Wolsey also obtained the bull of Pope Clement VII. for the suppression of several religious houses, for the founding his Colleges at Oxford and Ipswich.—Besides these, there are many more instances, too numerous to insert.

(h) The luxurious manner of living of the monks, so early as the reign of Henry II. may be gathered from the following stories, related of those of Canterbury and Winchester, by Giraldus Cambrensis. "Their table," says he, speaking of the first, "consisted regularly of sixteen covers, or more, of the most costly dainties, dressed with the most exquisite cookery to provoke the appetite, and please the taste: they had an excessive abundance of wine, particularly

tures, (i) shocking accounts of which were undoubtedly transmitted by the visitors; though one may venture to believe, they were not softened in their relation: but above all, the damage sustained by the nation, in the loss of so many hands, who might have made useful manufacturers and husbandmen, as well as the great check to population, by the number of men and women bound by their vows to celibacy. Cogent as these reasons were, probably they would not have brought about this great event, but for that delicious incentive, their goods and manors, which the king's necessities, as well as his avarice, made him so extremely desirous to seize.

Although the general suppression of religious houses, even considered in a political light only, was of a vast national benefit, yet it must be allowed, that at the time they flourished, they were not entirely useless. Monasteries were then the repositories, as well as seminaries of learning; many valuable books, and national records, as well as private evidences, have been preserved in their libraries: the only places wherein they could have been safely lodged, in those turbulent times: many of them, which had

ticularly claret; of mulberry wine, of mead, and of other strong liquors; the variety of which was so great in these repasts, that no place could be found for ale, though the best was made in England, and particularly in Kent." And of the prior and monks of St. Swithin at Winchester, he says, "they threw themselves prostrate at the feet of King Henry II. and with many tears complained to him, that the bishop of that diocese, to whom they were subject as their abbot, had withdrawn from them three of the usual number of their dishes. Henry enquired of them how many there still remained; and being informed they had ten, he said that he himself was contented with three, and imprecated a curse on the bishop if he did not reduce them to that number.

(i) They (the visitors) discovered many impostures about relicks and wonderful images, to which pilgrimages had been wont to be made. At Reading they had an angel's wing, which brought over the spear's point that pierced our Saviour's side; and as many pieces of the cross were found, as joined together would have made a big cross. The rood of grace, at Boxley in Kent, had been much esteemed, and drawn many pilgrims to it: it was observed to bow and roll its eyes; and look at times well pleased, or angry, which the credulous multitude imputed to a divine power: but all this was discovered to be a cheat, and it was brought up to St. Paul's cross, and all the springs were openly shewed that governed its several motions. At Hales in Gloucestershire, the blood of Christ was shewed in a phial; and it was believed that none could see it who were in mortal sin: and so, after good presents were made, the deluded pilgrims went away well satisfied, if they had seen it. This was the blood of a duck, renewed every week, put in a phial, very thick of one side, as thin on the other; and either side turned towards the pilgrim, as the priests were satisfied with their oblations. Several other such like impostures were discovered, which contributed much to the undeceiving of the people. *Burnet's Abridg. Hist. Refor.*

escaped

escaped the ravages of the Danes, were destroyed, with more than Gothic barbarity, at their dissolution. (k)

Every abbey had at least one person, whose office it was to instruct youth; and to the monks, the historians of this country are chiefly beholden for the knowledge they have of former national events. The arts of painting, architecture, and printing, were also successfully cultivated within their walls.

Religious houses were likewise their hospitals for the sick and poor, many of both being daily relieved by them: they also afforded lodging and entertainment for travellers, at a time when there were no inns.

The nobility and gentry, who were heirs to the founders, in them could provide for a certain number of ancient and faithful servants, by procuring them corodies, or stated allowances of meat, drink, and clothes. It was also an asylum or retreat for aged indigent persons of good family.

The places near the site of these abbies were considerably benefited, both by the concourse of people resorting to them, by fairs procured for them, and by their exemption from the forest

(k) The barbarous ravages committed on the libraries of the monks, are thus set forth and lamented by John Bale, in his declaration upon Leland's Journal, anno 1549. "Covetousness," saith he "was at that time so busy about private commodity, that public wealth in that most necessary, and of respect, was not any where regarded. A number of them, which purchased those superstitious mansions, reserved of those library books, some to serve their jakes, some to scour the candlesticks, and some to rub their boots; some they sold to the grocer and soap-seller; and some they sent over sea, to the book-binders, not in small numbers; but, at times, whole ships full: yea, the universities of this realm are not at all clear in this detestable fact. But cursed is that belly, which seeketh to be fed with so ungodly gains, and so deeply shameth his natural country. I know "says he" a merchantman (which shall at this time be nameless) that bought the contents of two noble libraries for forty shillings price: a shame it is to be spoken! This stuff hath he occupied instead of grey paper, by the space of more than these ten years, and yet he hath store enough for as many years to come: a prodigious example is this, and to be abhorred by all men, which loved their nation as they should do. Yea, what may bring our realm to more shame, and rebuke, than to have it noised abroad, that we are despisers of learning. I shall judge this to be true, and utter it with heaviness, that neither the Britons, under the Romans and Saxons, nor yet the English people, under the Danes and Normans, had ever such damage of their learned monuments, as we have seen in our time. Our posterity may well curse this wicked fact of our age; this unreasonable spoil of England's most noble antiquities."

laws; add to which the monastic estates were generally let at very easy rents, the fines given at renewals included.

To conclude, their stately buildings and magnificent churches were striking ornaments to the country; the furious zeal with which these were demolished, their fine carvings destroyed, and their beautiful painted windows broken, would almost tempt one to imagine, that the persons who directed these depredations, were actuated with an enmity to the fine arts, instead of a hatred to the popish superstition.

☞ An alphabetical list of all the religious houses in England and Wales, to whom dedicated, when founded, with their valuation at the time of the dissolution, will be added in the Index, at the conclusion of the work.

ARCHI-

ARCHITECTURE.

Most of the writers who mention our ancient buildings, particularly the religious ones, notwithstanding the striking difference in the styles of their construction, class them all under the common denomination of Gothic: a general appellation by them applied to all buildings not exactly conformable to some one of the five orders of architecture. Our modern antiquaries, more accurately, divide them into Saxon, Norman, and Saracenic; or that species vulgarly, though improperly, called Gothic.

An opinion has long prevailed, chiefly countenanced by Mr. Somner, (a) that the Saxon churches were mostly built with timber; and that the few they had of stone, consisted only of upright walls, without pillars or arches; the construction of which, it is pretended, they were entirely ignorant of. Mr. Somner seems to

(a) Indeed it is to be observed, that before the Roman Advent, most of our monasteries and church buildings were all of wood: "All the monasteries of my realm," saith King Edgar, in his charter to the abbey of Malmsbury, dated in the year of Christ 974, "to the sight are nothing but worm-eaten and rotten timber and boards:" and that upon the Norman Conquest, such timber fabricks grew out of use, and gave place to stone buildings, raised upon arches: a form of structure introduced by that nation, furnished with stone from Caen in Normandy.

"In the year 1087," (Stowe's words of the cathedral of London) "this church of St. Paul was burnt with fire, and therewith most part of the city. Mauricius, then bishop, began therefore the new foundation of a new church of St. Paul; a work that men of that time judged would never have been finished, it was then so wonderful for length and breadth: as also the same was builded upon arches, or vaults of stone, for defence of fire, which was a manner of work before that time unknown to the people of this nation, and then brought from the French, and the stone was fetched from Caen in Normandy."——"St. Mary Bow Church in London, being built much about the same time and manner, that is, on arches of stone, was therefore called," saith the same author, "New Mary Church, or St. Mary le Bow; as Stratford Bridge, being the first builded with arches of stone, was therefore called Stratford le Bow." This doubtless is that new kind of architecture, the continuer of Bede (whose words Malmsbury hath taken up) intends; when speaking of the Normans' income, he saith, "You may observe every where, in villages churches, and in cities and villages monasteries, erected with a new kind of architecture."——And again, speaking doubtfully of the age of the eastern part of the choir of Canterbury, he adds, "I dare constantly and confidently deny it to be elder than the Norman Conquest; because of the building it upon arches; a form of architecture, though in use with and among the Romans long before, yet, after their departure, not used here in England, till the Normans brought it over with them from France." *Somner's Antiq. Canterbury.*

have

have founded his opinion on the authority of Stowe, and a disputable interpretation of some words in King Edgar's charter; (b) "Meaning no more, as I apprehend," says Mr. Bentham, in his Curious Remarks on Saxon Churches, "than that the churches and monasteries were in general so much decayed, that the roofs were uncovered or bare to the timber; and the beams rotted by neglect, and overgrown with moss." It is true, that Bede and others speak of churches built with timber; but these appear to have been only temporary erections, hastily run up for the present exigency: (c) and for the other position, that the Saxons had neither arches or pillars in their buildings, it is not only contradicted by the testimony of several cotemporary or very ancient writers, who expressly mention them both, but also by the remains of some edifices universally allowed to be of Saxon workmanship; one of them the ancient conventual church at Ely.

The writers here alluded to, are Alcuin, an ecclesiastic, who lived in the eighth century; and in a poem, entitled, De Pontificibus et Ecclesiæ Ebor. published by Doctor Gale, A. D. 1691, describes the church of St. Peter at York; which he himself, in conjunction with Eanbald, had assisted Archbishop Albert to rebuild. In this poem he particularizes by name, both columns and arches, as may be seen in note. (d)

(b) "Quæ velut muscivis scindulis cariosisque tabulis, tigno tenus visibiliter diruta."

(c) "Baptizatus est (Sc. Rex Edwinus, A. D. 627) autem Eboraci in die Sancto Paschæ. ——In ecclesia St. Petri apostoli quam ipse de ligno citato opere erexit." *Bedæ Hist. Eccl. lib. ii. c.* 14.——"Curavit majorem ipso in loco et augustiorem de lapide fabricare basilicam, in cujus medio ipsum quod prius fecerat oratorium includeretur." *Ibid.*

(d) "Ast nova basilicæ miræ structura diebus
Præsulis hujus erat jam cæpta, peracta, sacrata.
Hæc nimis alta domus solidis, suffulta columnis,
Supposita quæ stant curvatis arcubus, intus
Emicat egregiis laquearibus atque fenestris,
Pulchraque porticibus fulget circumdata multis,
Plurima diversis retinens solaria tectis,
Quæ triginta tenet variis ornatibus aras.
Hoc duo discipuli templum, Doctore jubente,
Ædificarunt Eanbaldus et Alcuinus, ambo
Concordes operi devota mente studentes.
Hoc tamen ipse pater socio cum Præsule templum,
Ante die decima quam clauderet, ultima vitæ
Lumina præsentis, Sophiæ sacraverat almæ."

The

The author of the description of the abbey of Ramsay in Huntingdonshire, which was founded A. D. 974, by Ailwood, styled Alderman of all England, assisted therein by Oswald, bishop of Worcester, in that account names both arches and columns, as is shewn in note. (e)

Richard Prior, of Hexham, who flourished about the year 1180, and left a description of that church, part of which was standing in his time, though built by Wilfred, anno 674; he likewise speaks of arches, and columns with their capitals richly ornamented: see note. (f)

Many more authorities might be cited, was not the matter sufficiently clear. Indeed it is highly improbable, that the Saxons could be ignorant of so useful a contrivance as the arch: many of them, built by the Romans, they must have had before their eyes: some of which have reached our days: two particularly are now remaining in Canterbury only; one in the castleyard, the other at Ridinggate. And it is not to be believed, that once knowing them, and their convenience, they would neglect to make use of them; or, having used, would relinquish them. Besides, as it appears, from un-

(e) "Duce quoque turres ipsis tectorum culminibus eminebant, quarum minor versus occidentem, in fronte Basilicæ pulchram intrantibus insulam a longe spectaculum prebebat; major vero in quadrifidæ structuræ medio columnas quatuor, porrectis de alia ad aliam arcubus sibi invicem connexus, ne laxi defluerunt, deprimebat."

Hist. Ramesiansis, inter xv. Scriptores, Edit. per Gale.

(f) Profunditatem ipsius ecclesiæ scriptis, et oratoriis subterraneis, et viarum amfractibus, inferius cum magna industria fundavit: parietes autem quadratis, et variis, et bene politis columpnis suffultos, et tribus tabulatis distinctos immensæ longitudinis, et altitudinis, erexit: ipsos etiam et capitella columpnorum quibus sustentatur, et arcum sanctuarii historiis, et imaginibus, et variis celaturarum figuris ex lapide prominentibus, et picturarum, et colorum grata varietate mirabilique decore decoravit: ipsum quoque corpus ecclesiæ appenticiis, et porticibus nudique circumcinxit. Quæ miro atque inexplicabili artificio par parietes, et cocleas, inferius, et superius distinxit; in ipsis vero cocleis, et super ipsas, ascensoria ex lapide, et deambulatoria, et varios viarum amfractus modo, sursum modo deorsum artificiossissime item machinari fecit, ut innumera hominum multitudo ibi existere, et ipsum corpus ecclesiæ circumdare possit, cum a nemine tamen infra in ea existentium videri queat: oratoria quoque quamplurima superius, et inferius secretissima, et pulcherrima in ipsis porticibus cum maxima diligentia, et cautela constituit, in quibus altaria in honore B. Dei Genetricis semperque Virginis Mariæ, et St. Michaelis Archangeli, Sanctique Johannis Bapt. honestissime preparari fecit. Unde etiam usque hodie quædam illorum ut turres, et propugnacula supereminent.

Richardi Prioris Hagulst. lib. i. cap. 3.

 doubted

doubted authorities, they procured workmen from the Continent (g) to construct their capital buildings "according to the Roman manner," this alone would be sufficient to confute that ill-grounded opinion: and at the same time proves, that what we commonly call Saxon, is in reality Roman architecture.

This was the style of building practised all over Europe; and it continued to be used by the Normans, after their arrival here, till the introduction of what is called the Gothic, which was not till about the end of the reign of Henry II. so that there seems to be little or no grounds for a distinction between the Saxon and Norman architecture. Indeed, it is said, the buildings of the latter were of larger dimensions, both in height and area; and they were constructed with a stone brought from Caen in Normandy, of which their workmen were peculiarly fond: but this was simply an alteration in the scale and materials, and not in the manner of the building. The ancient parts of most of our cathedrals are of this early Norman work.

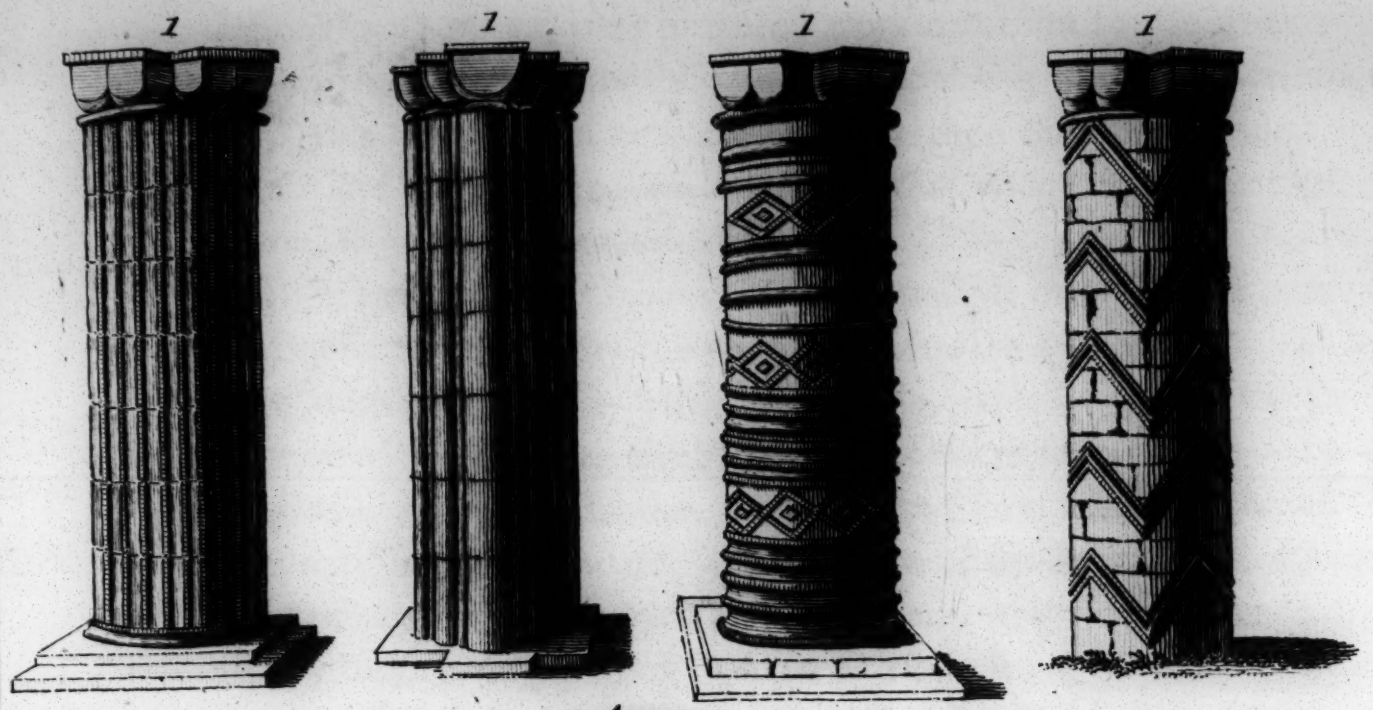
(g) Cum centoribus Ædde et Eona, et cementariis omnisque pene artis ministerio in regionem suam revertens, cum regula Benedicti instituta ecclesiarum Dei bene melioravit. *Eddii Vit. St. Wilfridi, cap.* 14. *Bedæ Hist. Ecc. lib. iv. cap.* 2.——De Roma quoque, et Italia, et Francia, et de aliis terris ubicumque invenire poterat, cæmentarios et quoflibet alios industrios artifices secum retinuerat, et ad opera sua facienda secum in Angliam adduxerat. *Rich. Prior Hagulst, lib.* 1. *cap.* 5.

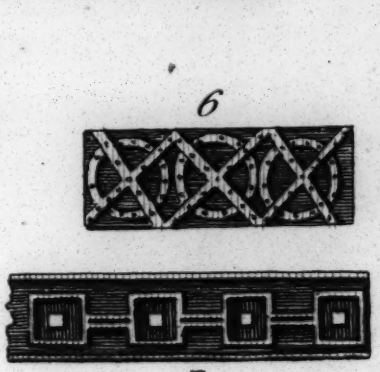
St. Peter's church, in the monastery of Weremouth, in the neighbourhood of Gyrwi, was built by the famous Benedict Biscopius, in the year 675. This abbot went over into France, to engage workmen to build his church after the Roman manner (as it is called by Bede in his history of Weremouth) and brought them over for that purpose: he prosecuted this work with extraordinary zeal and diligence, insomuch that within the compass of a year after the foundations were laid, he caused the roof to be put on, and divine service to be performed in it. Afterwards, when the building was near finished, he sent over to France for artificers skilled in the mystery of making glass (an art till that time unknown to the inhabitants of Britain) to glaze the windows, both of the porticos, and the principal parts of the church; which work they not only executed, but taught the English nation that most useful art. *Bentham's History of Ely, p.* 21.

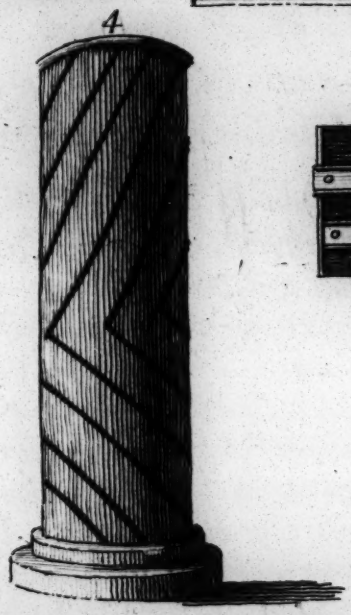
What Bede here affirms of the abbot Benedict, that he first introduced the art of making glass into this kingdom, is by no means inconsistent with Eddius's account of Bishop Wilfrid's glazing the windows of St. Peter's church at York, about the year 669, *i. e.* seven or eight years before this time; for glass might have been imported from abroad by Wilfred. But Benedict first brought over the artists who taught the Saxons the art of making glass.—— That the windows in churches were usually glazed in that age abroad, as well as in these parts, we learn from Bede; who, speaking of the church on Mount Olivet, about a mile from Jerusalem, says, "In the west front of it were eight windows, which on some occasions, used to be illuminated with lamps; which shone so bright through the glass, that the mount seemed in a blaze." *Bedæ lib. de Locis Sanctis, cap.* 6.

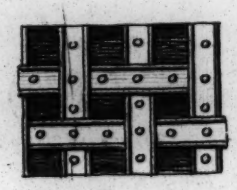
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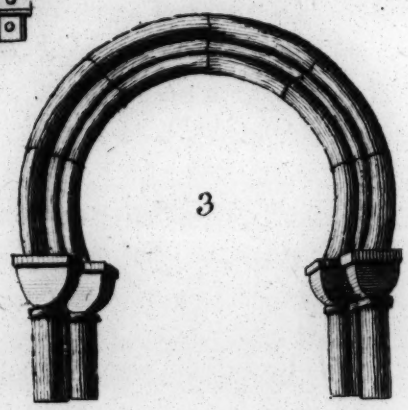
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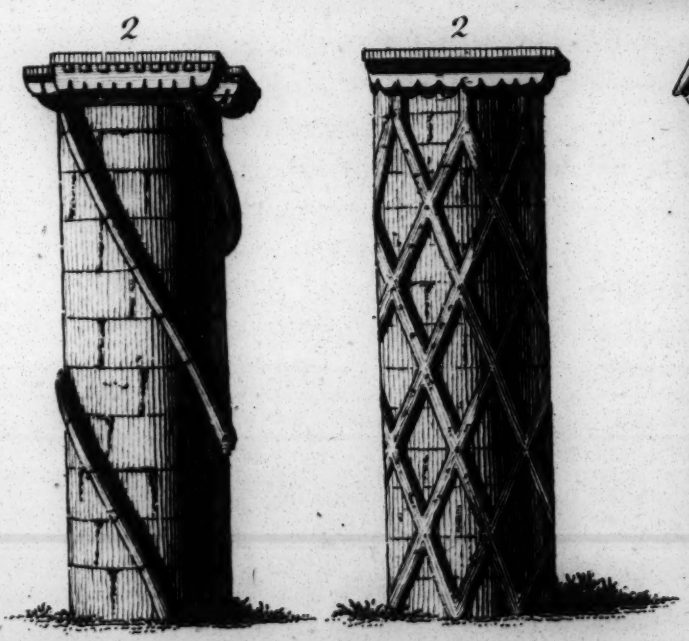


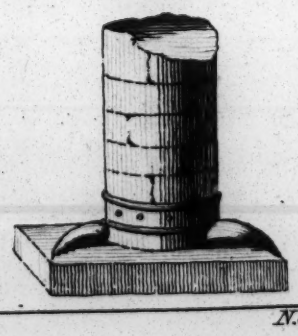












N.C.Goodnight, sc

ARCHITECTURE.

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The grand Door of Barfreston Church in Kent.

The characteristic marks of this style are these: The walls are very thick, generally without buttresses; the arches, both within and without, as well as those over the doors and windows, semicircular, and supported by very solid, or rather clumsy columns, with a kind of regular base and capital: in short, plainness and solidity constitute the striking features of this method of building. Nevertheless, the architects of those days sometimes deviated from this rule: their capitals were adorned with carvings of foliage, and even animals; and their massive columns decorated with small half columns united to them, and their surfaces ornamented with spirals, squares, lozenge network and other figures, either engraved, or in relievo: various instances of these may be seen in the cathedral of Canterbury, particularly the under-croft, the monastery at Lindisfarn or Holy Island, the cathedral at Durham, and the ruined choir at Orford in Suffolk. (h) Their arches too, though generally plain, sometimes came in for more than their share of ornaments: particularly those over the chief doors: some of these were overloaded with a profusion of carving.

It would be impossible to describe the different ornaments there crowded together; which seem to be more the extemporaneous product of a grotesque imagination, than the result of any particular design. On some of these arches is commonly over the key-stone represented God the Father, or our Saviour, surrounded with angels; and below a melange of foliage, animals, often ludicrous, and sometimes even indecent subjects. Partly of this sort is the great door at Barfreston Church in Kent. The frises round churches were also occasionally ornamented, with grotesque human heads, monsters, figures playing on different musical instruments, and other whimsical devices, of which the church of Barfreston, above mentioned, and that of Adderbury in Suffolk, afford striking specimens.

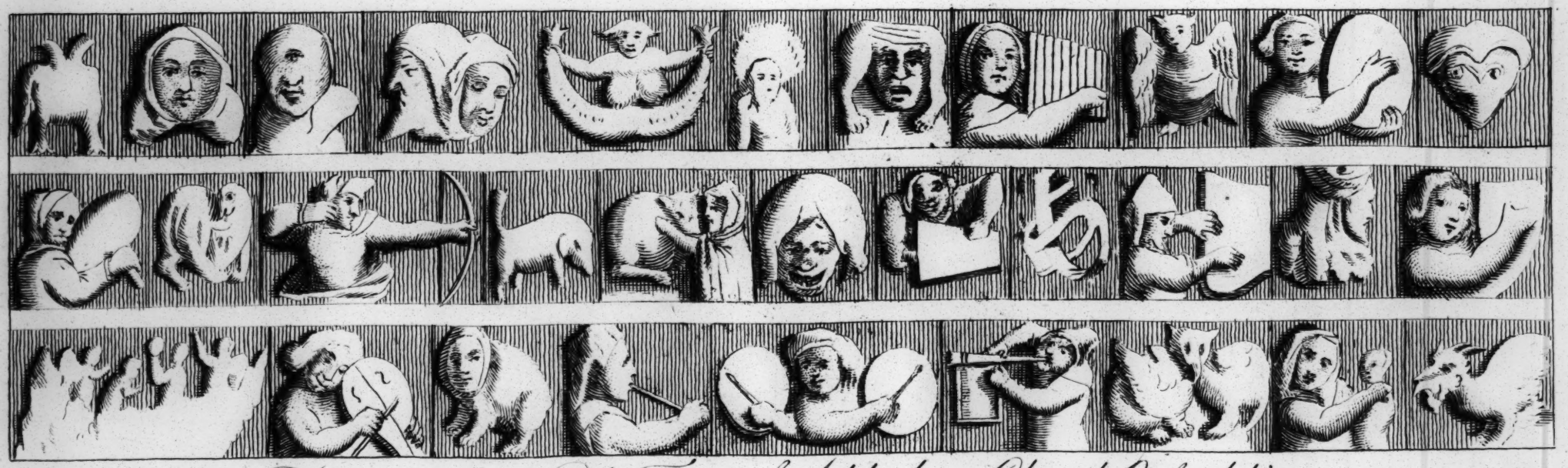
(h) The columns No. 1, in the plate of architecture, are at the monastery of Lindisfarn or Holy Island. Those No. 2, belong to the ruined chancel at Orford in Suffolk. No 4, at Christ church, Canterbury. No. 3, an arch in Romsey church, Hampshire, containing a segment greater than a semicircle. No. 5, a column with two remarkable projections like claws: in the south aisle of the same building there are several others similar to it. No. 6, 7, 8, ornaments in the cathedral at Rochester.

The

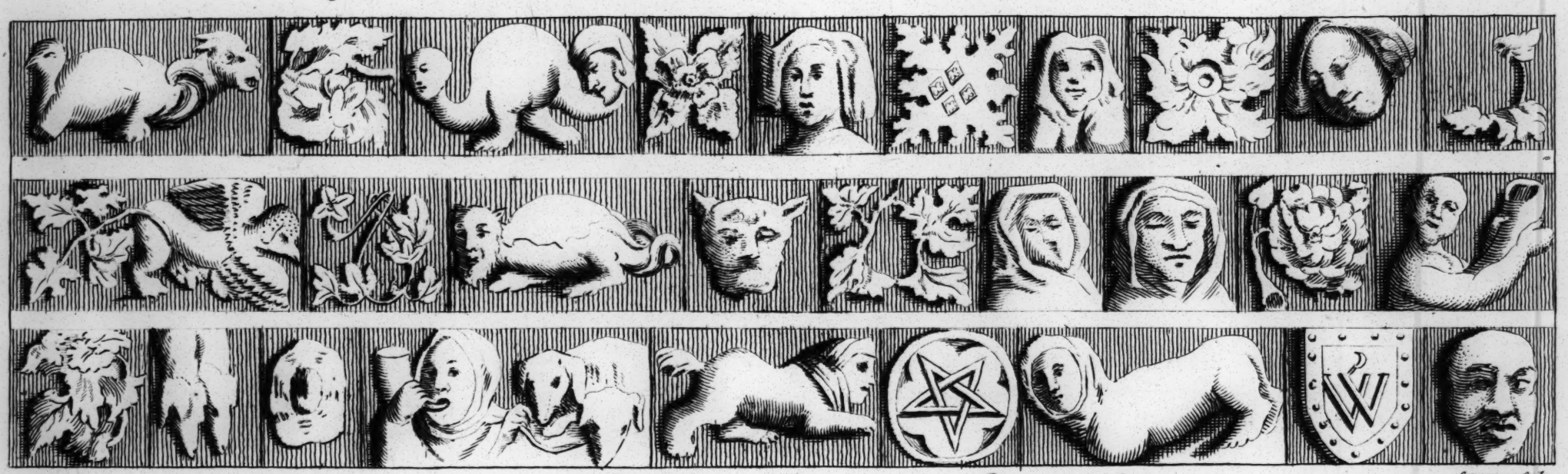
The idea of these artists seems to have been, that the greater number of small and dissimilar subjects they could there assemble, the more beautiful they rendered their work. It is not however to be denied, that the extreme richness of these inferior parts served, by their striking contrast, to set off the venerable plainness of the rest of the building; a circumstance wanting in the Gothic structures: which, being equally ornamented all over, fatigue and distract, rather than gratify the eye.

I would not here be understood to assert, that all the Saxon ornamented arches were devoid of beauty and taste; on the contrary, there are several wherein both are displayed, particularly in some belonging to the church of Ely. Besides the ornaments here mentioned, which seem always to have been left to the fancy of the sculptor, they had others, which were in common use, and are more regular. Most of them, as mentioned by Mr. Bentham, in his ingenious preface to the History of Ely, the reader will find in the note; (i) and specimens of them are given in the miscellaneous

(i) As to their arches, though they were for the most part plain and simple, yet some of their principal ones, as those over the chief entrance at the west end, and others most exposed to view, were abundantly charged with sculpture of a particular kind; as the chevron work, or zig-zag moulding, the most common of any; and various other kinds, rising and falling, jetting out and receding inward alternately, in a waving or undulating manner: the embattled frette, a kind of ornament formed by a single round moulding, traversing the face of the arch, making its returns and crossings always at right angles, so forming the intermediate spaces into squares alternately open above and below. Specimens of this kind of ornament appear on the great arches in the middle of the west front at Lincoln; and within the ruinous part of the building adjoining to the great western tower at Ely: the triangular frette, where the same kind of moulding, at every return, forms the side of an equilateral triangle, and consequently incloses the intermediate space in that figure: the nail-heads, resembling the heads of great nails, driven in at regular distances: as in the nave of old St. Paul's, and the great tower at Hereford (all of them found also in more ancient Saxon buildings):—the billetted moulding, as if a cylinder should be cut into small pieces of equal length, and these stuck on alternately round the face of the arches; as in the choir of Peterborough, at St. Cross, and round the windows of the upper tire on the outside of the nave at Ely:—this latter ornament was often used (as were also some of the others) as a fascia, band, or fillet, round the outside of their buildings.—Then to adorn the inside walls below, they had rows of little pillars and arches, and applied them also to decorate large vacant spaces in the walls without (capitals of these were frequently ornamented with grotesque work:) —and the corbel-table, consisting of a series of small arches without pillars, but with the heads of men or animals, serving instead of corbels or brackets to support them, which they



Frize on the North Front of Adderbury Church Oxfordshire.

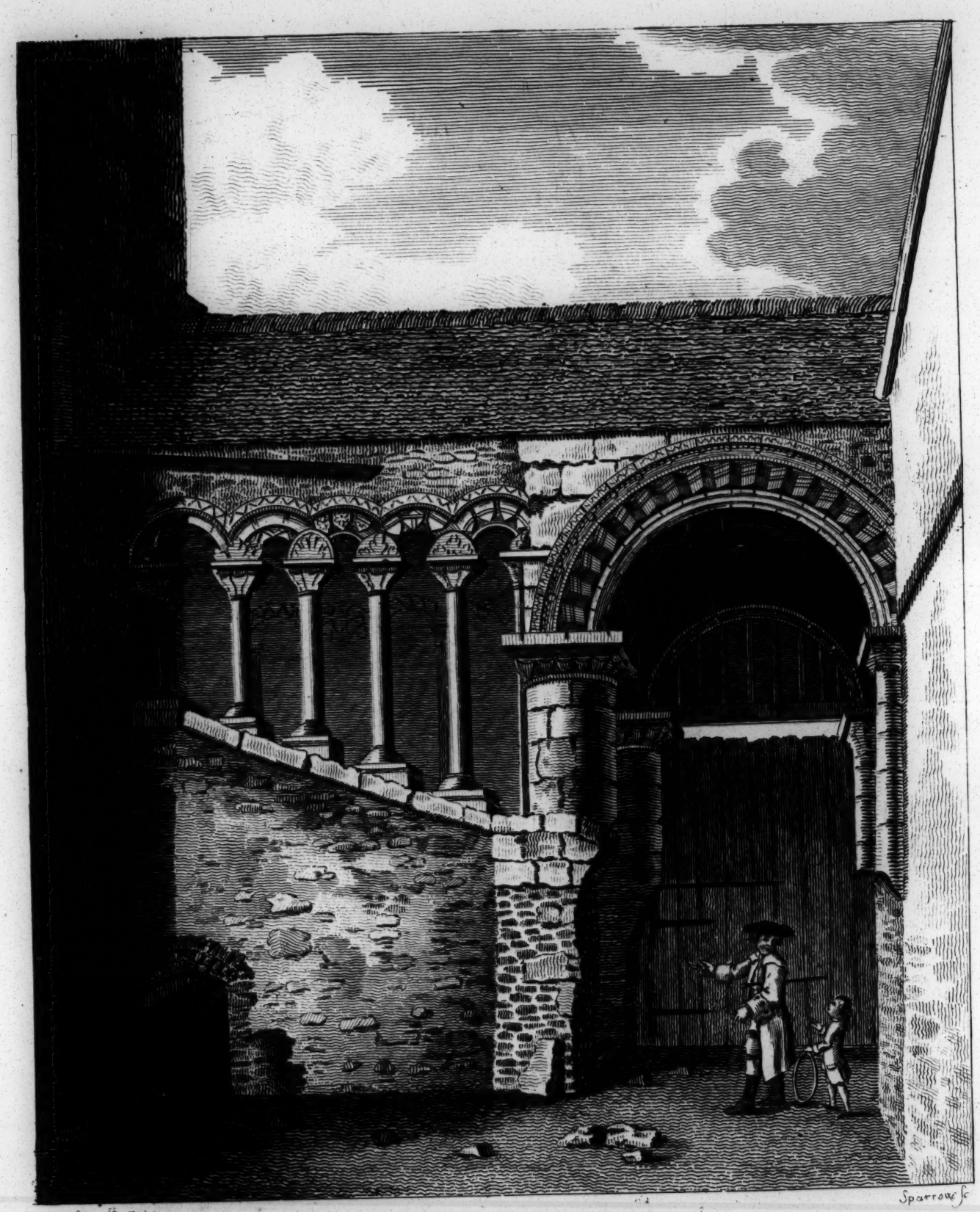


Frize on the South Front of Adderbury Church Oxfordshire.

Sparrow, sculp

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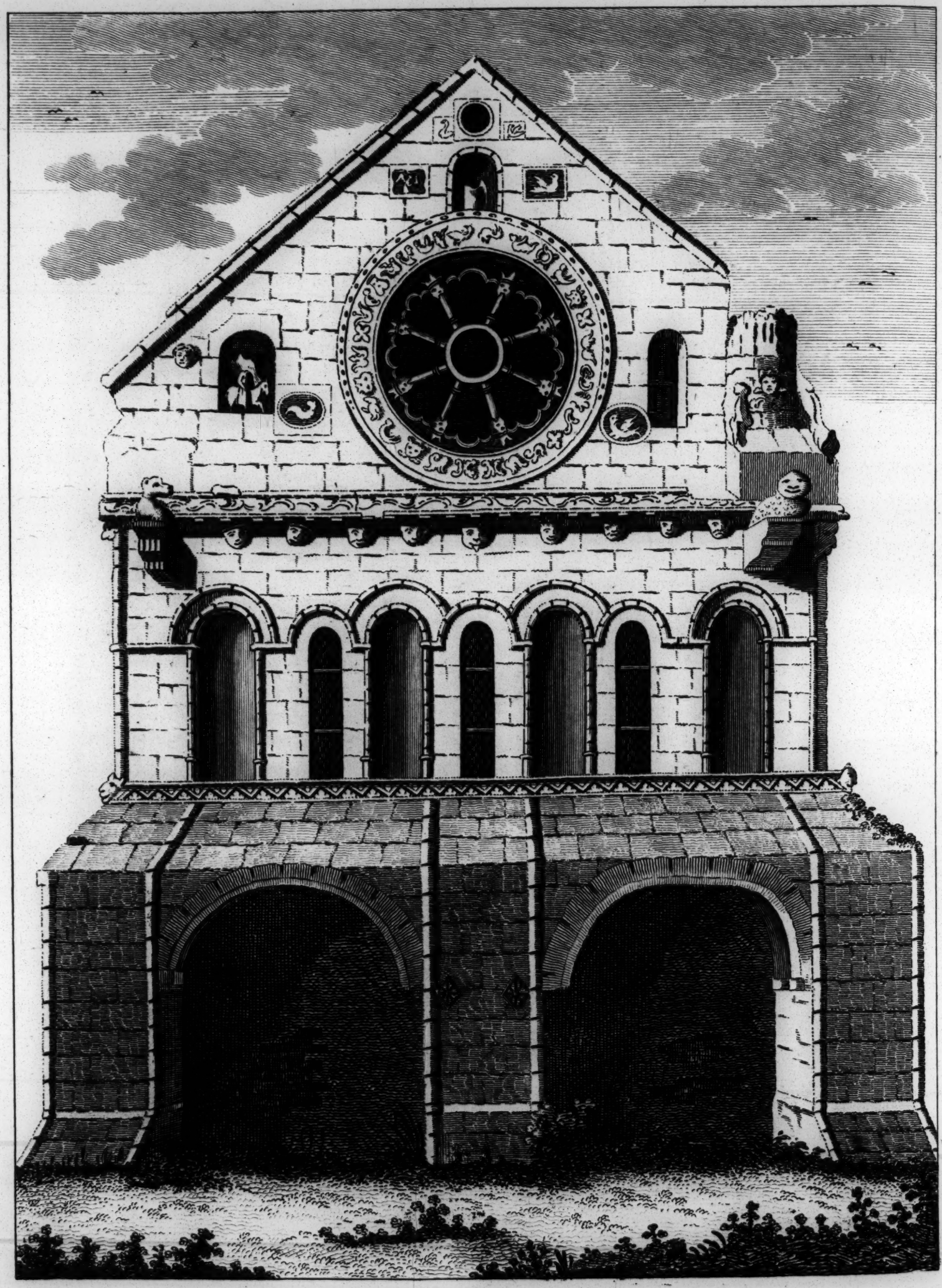
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Stranger's Hall, Christ Church Canterbury.

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BARFRESTON CHURCH, *KENT*.

laneous plate, in the view of the east end of Barfreston church; and in the entrance into what was the strangers hall, in the monastery of Christ Church, Canterbury, built by Archbishop Lanfranc; the small pillars, or columns whereof, were formerly richly ornamented; but by order of one of the deans, were chipped plain. The escutcheons over these are remarkable; they not being customary at the time of its erection.

About the time of Alfred probably, but certainly in the reign of Edgar, (k) high towers and cross aisles were first introduced: the Saxon churches till then being only square or oblong buildings, generally turned semicircularly at the east end. Towers at first scarcely rose higher than the roof; being intended chiefly as a kind of lanthorn for the admittance of light. An addition to their height was in all likelihood suggested on the more common use of bells; which, though mentioned in some of our monasteries in the seventh century, were not in use in churches till near the middle of the tenth.

To what country, or people, the style of architecture called Gothic owes its origin, is by no means satisfactorily determined. (l) It

they placed below the parapet, projecting over the upper and sometimes the middle tier of windows:—the hatched moulding, used both on the faces of the arches, or as a fascia on the outside, as if cut with the point of an axe, at regular distances, and so left rough:—and the nebule, a projection terminated by an undulating line, as under the upper range of windows at Peterborough. To these marks that distinguish the Saxon or Norman style, we may add, that they had no tabernacles, (or niches with canopies) or pinnacles or spires, or, indeed, any statues to adorn their buildings on the outside, which are the principal grace of what is now called the Gothic; unless those small figures we sometimes meet with over their door-ways; such as is that little figure of Bishop Herbert Losing, over the north transept door at Norwich, seemingly of that time; or another small figure of our Saviour, over one of the south doors of Ely, &c. may be called so. But these are rather mezzo relievos than statues; and it is known, that they used reliefs sometimes with profusion; as in the Saxon or Norman gateway at Bury, and the two south doors at Ely. Escutcheons of arms are hardly (if ever) seen in these fabrics, though frequent enough in after times; neither was there any tracery in their vaultings. These few particularities in the Saxon and Norman style of building, however minute they may be in appearance, yet will be found to have their use, as they contribute to ascertain the age of an edifice, at first sight.

(k) Vide note (c), Page 108.

(l) The style of building with pointed arches is modern, and seems not to have been known in the world, till the Goths ceased to make a figure in it. Sir Christopher Wren thought this should rather be called the Saracenic way of building. The first appearance of it here, was indeed in the time of the Crusades; and that might induce him to think the archetype was

It is indeed generally conjectured to be of Arabian extraction, and to have been introduced into Europe by some persons returning from the Crusades in the Holy Land. Sir Christopher Wren (m) was

brought hither by some who had been engaged in those expeditions, when they returned from the Holy Land. But the observations of several learned travellers, who have accurately surveyed the ancient mode of building in those parts of the world, do by no means favour that opinion, or discover the least traces of it. Indeed, I have not yet met with any satisfactory account of the origin of pointed arches, when invented, or where first taken notice of. Some have imagined they might possibly have taken their rise from those arcades we see in the early Norman or Saxon buildings on walls, where the wide semicircular arches cross and intersect each other, and form at their intersection a narrow and sharp-pointed arch.

In the wall, south of the choir, at St. Cross, is a facing of such wide round interlaced arches, by way of ornament to a flat vacant space; only so much of it as lies between the legs of the two neighbouring arches, where they cross each other, is pierced through the fabric, and forms a little range of sharp pointed windows; it is of King Stephen's time: whether they were originally pierced, I cannot learn. *Bentham.*

(m) These surveys, and other occasional inspections of the most noted cathedral churches and chapels in England, and foreign parts; a discernment of no contemptible art, ingenuity, and geometrical skill in the design and execution of some few, and an affectation of height and grandeur, though without regularity and good proportion in most of them, induced the surveyor to make some enquiry into the rise and progress of this Gothic mode, and to consider how the old Greek and Roman style of building, with the several regular proportions of columns, entablatures, &c. came, within a few centuries, to be so much altered, and almost universally disused.

He was opinion (as has been mentioned in another place) that what we now vulgarly call the Gothic, ought properly and truly to be named the Saracenic architecture, refined by the Christians; which first of all began in the East, after the fall of the Greek empire, by the prodigious success of those people that adhered to Mahomet's doctrine; who, out of zeal to their religion, built mosques, caravanseras, and sepulchres wherever they came.

These they contrived of a round form, because they would not imitate the Christian figure of a cross; nor the old Greek manner, which they thought to be idolatrous; and for that reason all sculpture became offensive to them.

They then fell into a new mode of their own invention, though it might have been expected with better sense, considering the Arabians wanted not geometricians in that age; nor the Moors, who translated many of the most useful old Greek books. As they propagated their religion with great diligence, so they built mosques in all their conquered cities in haste.

The quarries of great marble, by which the vanquished nations of Syria, Egypt, and all the East had been supplied for columns, architraves, and great stones, were now deserted; the Saracens therefore were necessitated to accommodate their architecture to such materials, whether marble or freestone, as every country readily afforded. They thought columns and heavy cornices impertinent, and might be omitted; and affecting the round form for mosques, they elevated cupolas in some instances with grace enough.

The Holy War gave the Christians, who had been there, an idea of the Saracen works; which were afterwards by them imitated in the West; and they refined upon it every day, as they proceeded in building churches. The Italians (among which were yet some Greek refugees) and with them French, Germans, and Flemings, joined into a fraternity of architects: procuring papal bulls for their encouragement, and particular privileges: they stiled themselves Free-masons, and ranged from one nation to another, as they found churches to be built (for very many in those ages were every where in building through piety or emulation.)

Their government was regular, and where they fixed near the building in hand, they made a camp of huts. A surveyor governed in chief; every tenth man was called a warden, and overlooked each nine: the gentlemen of the neighbourhood, either out of charity, or commutation of penance, gave the materials and carriages. Those who have seen the exact accounts in records of the charge of the fabrics of some of our cathedrals, near four hundred years old, cannot but have a great esteem for their œconomy, and admire how soon they erected such lofty structures. Indeed, great height they thought the greatest magnificence: few stones were used, but what a man might carry up a ladder on his back from scaffold to scaffold;

scaffold; though they had pullies, and spoked wheels, upon occasion; but having rejected cornices, they had no need of great engines: stone upon stone was easily piled up to great heights; therefore the pride of their works was in pinnacles and steeples.

In this they essentially differed from the Roman way, who laid all their mouldings, horizontally, which made the best perspective: the Gothic way, on the contrary, carried all their mouldings perpendicular; so that the ground work being settled, they had nothing else to do but to spire all up as they could. Thus they made their pillars of a bundle of little Torus's, which they divided into more, when they came to the roof; and these Torus's split into many small ones, and traversing one another, gave occasion to the tracery work, as they call it, of which this society were the inventors. They used the sharp headed arch, which would rise with little centering, required lighter key-stones, and less buttment, and yet would bear another row of doubled arches, rising from the key stone; by the diversifying of which they erected eminent structures; such as the steeples of Vienna, Strasberg, and many others. They affected steeples, though the Saracens themselves most used cupolas. The church of St. Mark at Venice is built after the Saracen manner. Glass began to be used in windows, and a great part of the outside ornaments of churches consisted in the tracery works of disposing the mullions of the windows for the better fixing in of the glass. Thus the work required fewer materials, and the workmanship was for the most part performed by flat moulds, in which the wardens could easily instruct hundreds of artificers. It must be confessed, this was an ingenious compendium of work, suited to these northern climates; and I must also own, that works of the same height and magnificence in the Roman way, would be very much more expensive, than in the other Gothic manner, managed with judgment. But as all modes, when once the old rational ways are despised, turn at last into unbounded fancies, this tracery induced too much mincing of the stone into open battlements, and spindling pinnacles, and little carvings without proportion of distance; so the essential rules of good perspective and duration were forgot. But about two hundred years ago, when ingenious men began to reform the Roman language to the purity which they assigned and fixed to the time of Augustus, and that century; the architects also, ashamed of the modern barbarity of building, began to examine carefully the ruins of old Rome and Italy, to search into the orders and proportions, and to establish them by inviolable rules; so, to their labours and industry, we owe, in a great degree, the restoration of architecture.

The ingenious Mr. Evelyn makes a general and judicious comparison, in his Account of Architecture, of the ancient and modern styles; with reference to some of the particular works of Inigo Jones, and the Surveyor; which, in a few words, give a right idea of the majestic symmetry of the one, and the absurd system of the other.—"The ancient Greek and Roman architecture answer all the perfections required in a faultless and accomplished building; such as for so many ages were so renowned and reputed by the universal suffrages of the civilized world; and would doubtless have still subsisted, and made good their claim, and what is recorded of them, had not the Goths, Vandals, aud other barbarous nations, subverted, and demolished them; together with that glorious empire where those stately and pompous monuments stood: introducing in their stead, a certain fantastical and licentious manner of building, which we have since called Modern, or Gothic. Congestions of heavy, dark, melancholy, and monkish piles, without any just proportion, use, or beauty, compared with the truly ancient; so as when we meet with the greatest industry, and expensive carving, full of fret and lamentable imagery, sparing neither of pains nor cost, a judicious spectator is rather distracted, or quite confounded, than touched with that admiration which results from the true and just symmetry, regular proportion, union, and disposition; and from the great and noble manner in which the august and glorious fabrics of the ancients are executed." *Accounts of Arthitecture*, p. 9.

It was after the irruption of swarms of those truculent people from the north, the Moors and Arabs from the south and east, overrunning the civilized world, that wherever they fixed themselves, they began to debauch this noble and useful art; when, instead of those beautiful orders, so majestical and proper for their stations, becoming variety, and other ornamental accessories, they set up those slender and misshapen pillars, or rather bundles of staves, and other incongruous props, to support incumbent weights, and ponderous arched roofs, without entablature; and though not without great industry, (as Mr. D'Aviler well observes) not altogether naked of gaudy sculpture, trite and busy carvings, it is such as gluts the eye, rather than gratifies and pleases it with any reasonable satisfaction. For proof of this, without travelling far abroad, I dare report myself to any man of judgment, and that has the least taste of order and magnificence, if, after he has looked a while upon King Henry the Seventh's Chapel at Westminster, gazed on its sharp angles, jetties, narrow lights, lame statues, lace, and other cut work, and crinkle crankle, and shall then turn his eyes on the

was of that opinion; (n) and it has been subscribed to by most writers who have treated on this subject. (o) If the supposition is

the Banquetting-house, built at Whitehall, by Inigo Jones, after the ancient manner; or on what his Majesty's surveyor, Sir Christopher Wren, has advanced at St. Paul's; and consider what a glorious object the cupola, porticos, colonades, and other parts present to the beholder: or compare the schools and library at Oxford with the theatre there; or what he has built at Trinity College, in Cambridge: and since all these, at Greenwich and other places, by which time our home traveller will begin to have a just idea of the ancient and modern architecture; I say, let him well consider, and compare them judicially, without partiality and prejudice, and then pronounce which of the two manners strikes the understanding as well as the eye, with the more majestic and solemn greatness; though in so much a plainer and simple dress, conform to the respective orders and entablature: and accordingly determine to whom the preference is due: not as we said, that there is not something of solid, and oddly artificial too, after a sort. But the universal and unreasonable thickness of the walls, clumsey buttresses, towers, sharp-pointed arches, doors, and other apertures without proportion: nonsensical insertions of various marbles impertinently placed; turrets and pinnacles, thick set with monkies and chimeras, and abundance of busy work, and other incongruities, dissipate and break the angles of the sight, and so confound it, that one cannot consider it with any steadiness, where to begin or end; taking off from that noble air and grandeur, bold and graceful manner, which the ancients had so well and judiciously established. But in this sort have they and their followers, ever since, filled not Europe alone, but Asia and Africa besides, with mountains of stone; vast and gigantic buildings indeed! but not worthy the name of architecture, &c. *Wren's Parentalia.*

(n) This we now call the Gothic manner of architecture, (so the Italians call what was not after the Roman style) though the Goths were rather destroyers than builders: I think it should with more reason be called the Saracen style; for those people wanted neither arts nor learning; and after we in the west had lost both, we borrowed again from them, out of their Arabic books, what they with great diligence had translated from the Greeks.—They were zealots in their religion; and wherever they conquered, (which was with amazing rapidity) erected mosques and caravanseras in haste, which obliged them to fall into another way of building; for they built their mosques round, disliking the Christian form of a cross. The old quarries, whence the ancients took their large blocks of marble for whole columns and architraves, were neglected; and they thought both impertinent. Their carriage was by camels; therefore their buildings were fitted for small stones, and columns of their own fancy, consisting of many pieces; and their arches pointed without key-stones, which they thought too heavy.——The reasons were the same in our northern climates, abounding in free-stone, but wanting marble.

(o) Modern Gothic, as it is called, is deduced from a different quarter: it is distinguished by the lightness of its work, by the excessive boldness of its elevations, and of its sections; by the delicacy, profusion, and extravagant fancy of its ornaments. The pillars of this kind are as slender as those of the ancient Gothic are massive; such productions, so airy, cannot admit the heavy Goths for their author; how can be attributed to them, a style of architecture, which was only introduced in the tenth century of our æra? Several years after the destruction of all those kingdoms, which the Goths had

is well grounded, it seems likely that many ancient buildings of this kind, or at least their remains, would be found in those countries from whence it is said to have been brought; parts of which have at different times been visited by several curious travellers, many of whom have made designs of what they thought most remarkable. Whether they over-looked or neglected these buildings, as being in search of those of more remote antiquity, or whether none existed, seems doubtful. Cornelius le Brun, an indefatigable and inquisitive traveller, has published many views of eastern buildings, particularly about the Holy Land: in all these, only one Gothic ruin, the church near Acre, and a few pointed arches, occur; and those built by the Christians, when in possession of the country. Near Ispahan, in Persia, he gives several buildings with pointed arches; but these are bridges and caravanseras, whose age cannot be ascertained; consequently, are as likely to have been built after as before the introduction of this style into Europe.

had raised upon the ruins of the Roman empire, and at a time when the very name of Goth was entirely forgotten: from all the marks of the new architecture, it can only be attributed to the Moors; or, what is the same thing, to the Arabians or Saracens; who have expressed, in their architecture, the same taste as in their poetry; both the one and the other falsely delicate, crowded with superfluous ornaments, and often very unnatural; the imagination is highly worked up in both; but it is an extravagant imagination; and this has rendered the edifices of the Arabians (we may include the other orientals) as extraordinary as their thoughts. If any one doubts of this assertion, let us appeal to any one who has seen the mosques and palaces of Fez; or some of the cathedrals in Spain, built by the Moors; one model of this sort, is the church at Burgos; and even in this island there are not wanting several examples of the same; such buildings have been vulgarly called Modern Gothic, but their true appellation is Arabic, Saracenic, or Moresque.—This manner was introduced into Europe through Spain: learning flourished among the Arabians, all the time that their dominion was in full power; they studied philosophy, mathematics, physic and poetry. The love of learning was at once excited; in all places, that were not at too great distance from Spain, these authors were read; and such of the Greek authors as they had translated into Arabic, were from thence turned into Latin. The physic and philosophy of the Arabians spread themselves in Europe, and with these, their architecture: many churches were built after the Saracenic mode; and others with a mixture of heavy and light proportions, the alteration that the difference of the climate might require, was little, if at all considered. In most southern parts of Europe, and in Africa, the windows, (before the use of glass) made with narrow apertures, and placed very high in the walls of the building, occasioned a shade and darkness withinside, and were all contrived to guard against the fierce rays of the sun, yet were ill suited to those latitudes, where that glorious luminary shades its feebler influences, and is rarely seen but through a watery cloud. *Rious's Architecture.*

At Ispahan itself, the Mey Doen, or grand market-place, is surrounded by divers magnificent Gothic buildings; particularly the royal mosque, and the Talael Ali-kapie, or theatre. The magnificent bridge of Alla-werdie-chan, over the river Zenderoet, five hundred and forty paces long, and seventeen broad, having thirty-three pointed arches, is also a Gothic structure: but no mention is made when or by whom these are built. The Chiaer Baeg, a royal garden, is decorated with Gothic buildings; but these were, it is said, built only in the reign of Scha Abbas, who died anno 1629.

One building indeed, at first seems as if it would corroborate this assertion, and that the time when it was erected might be in some degree fixed; it is the tomb of Abdalla, (p) one of the apostles of Mahomet, probably him surnamed Abu Becr. If this tomb is supposed to have been built soon after his death, estimating that even to have happened according to the common course of nature, it will place its erection about the middle of the seventh century: but this is by far too conjectural to be much depended on. It also seems as if this was not the common style of building at that time, from the temple of Mecca; where, if any credit is to be given to the print of it, in Sale's Koran, the arches are semicircular. The tomb here men-

(p) Le vingt-troisieme de ce mois nous allames encore en ceremonie au village de Kaladoen, à une bonne lieuë de la ville, pour y voir le tombeau d'Abdulla. On dit que ce saint avoit autrefois l'inspection des eux d'Emoen Osseyn, & qu'il étoit un des 12 desciples, ou à ce qu'ils pretendent; un des apôtres de leur prophete, ce tombeau qui est placé entre quatre murailles, revetues de petites pierres, est de marbre gris, ornè de caracteres Arabes, & entouré de lampes, de cuivre étamées; on y monte par 15 Marches d'un pied de haut, & l'on y en trouve 15 autres un peu plus élevées qui conduisent, à une platte forme quarée, qui a 32 pieds de large de chaque côte, a sur le devant, de la quelle il y a deux colomnes de petites pierres, entre les quelles il s'en trouve de blues. La base en a 5 pieds de large, & une petite porte, avec un escalier á noyau qui a aussi 15 Marches. Elles sont fort endommagées par les injures du temps, & il paroit qu'elles ont eté une fois plus êlevées quelle ne sont a present. L'escalier en est si étroit qu'il faut qu'un homme de taille ordinaire se deshabille pour y monter, comme je fis, & passai la moitié du corps au dessus de la colomne. Mais ce qu'il y a de plus extraordinaire, est que lors qu'on ébranle une des colomnes en faisant un mouvement du corps; l'autre en ressent les secousses, & est agitée du même; une chose dont j'ai fait l'epreuve, sans en pouvoir comprendre, ni apprendre la raison. Pendant que j'etois occupé à dessiner ce batiment, qu'on trouve au Num. 71, un jeun garçon de 12 a 13 ans, bossu par devant, grimpa en dehors, le long de la muraille, jusqu'au haut de la colomne dont il fit le tour, & redescendit de même sans se tenir à quoi que ce soit, qu'aux petites pierres, de ce bâtiment, aux endroits où la chaux en étoit détachée; & il ne le fit que pour nous devertir.

tioned,

tioned, has one evidence to prove its antiquity; that of being damaged by the injuries of time and weather. Its general appearance much resembles the east end of the chapel belonging to Ely House, London; except that which is filled up there by the great window: in the tomb is an open pointed arch; where also, the columns, or pinnacles, on each side, are higher in proportion.

Some have supposed that this kind of architecture was brought into Spain by the Moors (who possessed themselves of a great part of that country the beginning of the eighth century, which they held till the latter end of the fifteenth); and that from thence, by way of France, (q) it was introduced into England. This at first seems plausible; though, the only instance which seems to corroborate this hypothesis, or at least the only one proved by authentic drawings, is the mosque at Cordua in Spain; where, according to the views published by Mr. Swinburn, although most of the arches

(q) The Saracen mode of building seen in the east, soon spread over Europe, and particularly in France, the fashions of which nation we affected to imitate in all ages, even when we were at enmity with it. Nothing was thought magnificent that was not high beyond measure, with the flutter of arch buttresses, so we call the sloping arches that poise the higher vaultings of the nave. The Romans always concealed their butments, whereas the Normans thought them ornamental. These I have observed are the first things that occasion the ruin of cathedrals, being so much exposed to the air and weather; the coping, which cannot defend them, first failing, and if they give way the vault must spread. Pinnacles are of no use, and as little ornament. The pride of a very high roof, raised above reasonable pitch, is not for duration, for the lead is apt to slip; but we are tied to this indiscreet form, and must be contented with original faults in the first design. But that which is most to be lamented, is the unhappy choice of the materials, the stone is decayed four inches deep, and falls off perpetually in great scales. I find after the conquest all our artists were fetched from Normandy; they loved to work in their own Caen stone, which is more beautiful than durable. This was found expensive to bring hither; so they thought Ryegate stone, in Surry, the nearest like their own, being a stone that would saw and work like wood, but not durable, as is manifest: and they used this for the ashlar of the whole fabric, which is now disfigured in the highest degree. This stone takes in water, which being frozen, scales off; whereas good stone gathers a crust and defends itself, as many of our English free-stones do. And though we have also the best oak timber in the world, yet these senseless artificers, in Westminster hall and other places, would work their chesnuts from Normandy: that timber is not natural to England, it works finely, but sooner decays than oak. The roof in the abbey is oak, but mixed with chesnut, and wrought after a bad Norman manner, that does not secure it from stretching and damaging the walls; and the water of the gutters is ill carried off. All this is said, the better, in the next place, to represent to your lordship what has been done, and is wanting still to be carried on; as time and money is allowed to make a substantial and durable repair. *Wren's Parentalia, p.* 298.

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are circular, or horse-shoe fashion, there are some pointed arches, formed by the intersection of two segments of a circle. This mosque was, as it is there said, begun by Abdoulrahnam, the first, who laid the foundation, two years before his death, and was finished by his son Hissem or Iscan about the year 800. If these arches were part of the original structure it would be much in favour of the supposition; but, as it is also said, that edifice has been more than once altered and enlarged by the Mahometans, before any well grounded conclusion can be drawn, it is necessary to ascertain the date of the present building.

There are also several pointed arches in the Moorish Palace, at Granada, called the Alhambra; but as that was not built till the year 1273, long after the introduction of pointed arches into Europe, they are as likely to be borrowed by the Moors from the Christians, as by the Christians from the Moors. The greatest peculiarity in the Moorish architecture is the horse-shoe arch, (r) which containing more than a semicircle, contracts towards its base, by which it is rendered unfit to bear any considerable weight, being solely calculated for ornament. In Romesy Church, Hampshire, there are several arches somewhat of that form, one of them is represented in the plate of architecture, No. 3.

In the drawings of the Moorish buildings given in Les Delices de L'Espagne, said to be faithful representations, there are no traces of the style called Gothic architecture; there, as well as in the Moorish Castle at Gibraltar, the arches are all represented circular. Perhaps a more general knowledge of these buildings would throw some lights on the subject, at present almost entirely enveloped in obscurity: possibly the Moors may, like us, at different periods, have used different manners of building. Having thus in vain attempted to discover from whence we had this style, let us turn to what is more certainly known, the time of its introduction into this kingdom, and the successive improvements and changes it has undergone.

(r) As delineation gives a much clearer idea of forms and figures, than the most laboured description, the reader is referred to the plates in Swinburn's Travels, where there are many horse-shoe arches, both round and pointed.

Its

Its first appearance here was towards the latter end of the reign of King Henry II. but was not at once thoroughly adopted; some short solid columns, and semicircular arches, being retained, and mixed with the pointed ones. An example of this is seen in the west end of the Old Temple Church; and at York, where, under the choir, there remains much of the ancient work; the arches of which are but just pointed, and rise on short round pillars: both these were built in that reign. More instances might be brought, was not the thing probable in itself; new inventions, even when useful, not being readily received. The great west tower of Ely Cathedral was built by Bishop Rydel, about this time: those arches were all pointed.

In the reign of Henry III. this manner of building seems to have gained a complete footing; the circular giving place to the pointed arch, and the massive column yielding to the slender pillar. Indeed, like all novelties, when once admitted, the rage of fashion made it become so prevalent, that many of the ancient and solid buildings, erected in former ages, were taken down, in order to be re-edified in the new taste; or had additions patched to them, of this mode of architecture. The present cathedral church of Salisbury was begun early in this reign, and finished in the year 1258. It is entirely in the Gothic style; and, according to Sir Christopher Wren, may be justly accounted one of the best patterns of architecture of the age in which it was built. Its excellency is undoubtedly in a great measure owing to its being constructed on one plan; whence arises that symmetry and agreement of parts, not to be met with in many of our other cathedral churches; which have mostly been built at different times, and in a variety of styles. The fashionable manner of building at this period, and till the reign of Henry VIII. as is described by Mr. Bentham, see in note. (s)

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(s) During the whole reign of Henry III. the fashionable pillars to our churches were of Purbec marble, very slender and round, encompassed with marble shafts a little detached, so as to make them appear of a proportionable thickness; these shafts had each of them a capital richly adorned with foliage, which together in a cluster formed one elegant capital for the whole pillar. This form, though graceful to the eye, was attended with an inconvenience, perhaps not apprehended at first, for the shafts, designed chiefly for ornament, consisting of long pieces cut horizontally from the quarry, when placed in a perpendicular situation, were apt to split and break; which probably occasioned this manner to be laid aside in the next century.

In the beginning of the reign of Henry VIII. or rather towards the latter end of that of Henry VII. when brick building became common, a new kind of low pointed arch grew much in use: it was described from four centers, was very round at the haunches, and

century. There was also some variety in the form of the vaultings in the same reign: these they generally chose to make of chalk, for its lightness; but the arches and principal ribs were of free-stone. The vaulting of Salisbury cathedral, one of the earliest, is high pitched, between arches and cross springers only, without any further decorations: but some that were built soon after are more ornamental, rising from their impost with more springers, and spreading themselves to the middle of the vaulting, are enriched at their intersecting with carved orbs, foliage, and other devices: as in Bishop Norwood's work in the Presbytery, at the east end of the cathedral of Ely. As to the windows of that age, we find them very long, narrow, sharp pointed, and usually decorated on the inside or outside with small marble shafts: the order and disposition of the windows varied in some measure according to the stories of which the building consisted: in one of three stories the uppermost had commonly three windows within the compass of every arch, the center one being higher than those on each side; the middle tier or story had two within the same space; and the lowest only one window, usually divided by a pillar or mullion, and after ornamented on the top with a trefoil, single rose, or some such simple decoration; which probably gave the hint for branching out the whole head into a variety of tracery and foliage, when the windows came afterwards to be enlarged. The use of painting and stained glass, in our churches, is thought to have begun about this time: this kind of ornament, as it diminished the light, induced the necessity of making an alteration in the windows: either by increasing the number or enlarging their proportions; for such a gloominess rather than over-much light, seems more proper for such sacred edifices, and better calculated for recollecting the thoughts, and fixing pious affections: yet without that alteration, our churches had been too dark and gloomy; as some of them now, being divested of that ornament, for the same reason appear over light. As for spires and pinnacles, with which our oldest churches are sometimes, and more modern ones are frequently decorated, I think they are not very ancient; the towers and turrets of churches built by the Normans, in the first century after their coming, were covered as platforms, with battlements or plain parapet walls; some of them indeed built within that period we now see finished with pinnacles or spires; which were additions since the modern style of pointed arches prevailed, for before we meet with none. One of the earliest spires we have any account of is that of old St. Paul's, finished in the year 1222: it was, I think, of timber, covered with lead; but not long after, they began to build them with stone, and to finish all their buttresses in the same manner. Architecture under Edward I. was so nearly the same as in his father Henry the Third's time, that it is no easy matter to distinguish it. Improvements no doubt were then made, but it is difficult to define them accurately. The transition from one style to another, is usually effected by degrees, and therefore not very remarkable at first, but it becomes so at some distance of time: towards the latter part indeed of his reign, and in that of Edward II. we begin to discover a manifest change of the mode, as well in the vaulting and make of the columns, as the formation of the windows. The vaulting was, I think, more decorated than before; for now the principal ribs arising from their impost, being spread over the inner face of the arch, ran into a kind of tracery; or rather, with transoms divided the roof into various angular compartments, and were usually ornamented in the angles,

and the angle at the top was very obstuse. This sort of arch is to be found in every one of Cardinal Wolsey's buildings; also at West Sheen; an ancient brick gate at Mile End, called King John's Gate; and in the great gate of the palace of Lambeth. From this time Gothic architecture began to decline, and was soon after supplanted by a mixed style, if one may venture to call it one; wherein the Grecian

gles, with gilded orbs, carved heads or figures, and other embossed work. The columns retained something of their general form already described; that is as an assemblage of small pillars or shafts; but these decorations were now not detached or separate from the body of the columns, but made part of it, and being closely united and wrought up together, formed one entire, firm, slender, and elegant column. The windows were now greatly enlarged, and divided into several lights by stone mullions, running into various ramifications above, and dividing the head into numerous compartments of different forms, as leaves, open flowers, and other fanciful shapes: and more particularly the eastern and western windows (which became fashionable about this time) took up nearly the whole breadth of the nave, and were carried up almost as high as the vaulting; and being set off with painted and stained glass of most lively colours, with portraits of kings, saints, martyrs and confessors, and other historical representations, made a most splendid and glorious appearance. The three first arches of the Presbytery, adjoining to the dome and lanthern of the cathedral church of Ely, began the latter part of Edward the Second's reign, A. D. 1322, to exhibit elegant specimens of these fashionable pillars, vaultings and windows. St. Mary's chapel, (now Trinity parish church) at Ely, built about the same time, is constructed on a different plan, but the vaultings and windows are in the same style. The plan of this chapel, generally accounted one of the most perfect structures of that age, is an oblong square; it has no pillars nor side aisles, but is supported by strong spiring buttresses, and was decorated on the outside with statues over the east and west windows; and withinside also with statues, and a great variety of other sculpture, well executed. The fashion of adorning the west end of our churches with rows of statues, in tabernacles or niches, with canopies over them, obtained very soon after the introduction of pointed arches, as may be seen at Peterborough and Salisbury; and in latter times we find them in a more improved taste, at Litchfield and Wells. The same style and manner of building prevailed all the reign of Edward III. and with regard to the principal parts and members, continued in use to the reign of Henry VII. and the greater part of Henry VIII. only towards the latter part of that period, the windows were less pointed and more open, a better taste for statuary began to appear, and indeed a greater care seems to have been bestowed on all the ornamental parts, to give them a lighter and higher finishing; particularly the ribs of the vaulting, which had been large, and seemingly formed for strength and support, became at length divided into such an abundance of parts, issuing from their imposts as from a center, and spreading themselves over the vaulting, where they were intermixed with such delicate sculpture, as gave the whole vault the appearance of embroidery, enriched with clusters of pendant ornaments, resembling the works Nature sometimes forms in caves and grottos hanging down from their roofs. To what height of perfection modern architecture (I mean that with pointed arches, its chief characteristic) was carried on in this kingdom, appears by one complete specimen of it, the chapel founded by King Henry VI. in his college at Cambridge, and finished by King Henry VIII. The decorations, harmony, and proportions of the several parts of this magnificent fabric, its fine painted windows, and richly

Grecian and Gothic, however discordant and irreconcileable, are jumbled together. Concerning this mode of building, Mr. Warton, in his observations on Spenser's Fairy Queen, has the following anecdotes and remarks:

——————————Did rise
On stately pillars, fram'd after the Doric guise.

Although the Roman or Grecian architecture did not begin to prevail in England till the time of Inigo Jones, yet our communication with the Italians, and our imitation of their manners, produced some specimens of that stile much earlier. Perhaps the earliest is Somerset House in the Strand, built about the year 1549, by the duke of Somerset, uncle to Edward VI. The monument of Bishop Gardiner, in Winchester Cathedral, made in the reign of Mary, about 1555, is decorated with Ionic pillars; Spenser's verses, here quoted, bear an allusion to some of these fashionable improvements in building, which, at this time, were growing more and more into esteem. Thus also Bishop Hall, who wrote about the same time; viz. 1598:

There findest thou some stately Doricke frame,
Or neat Ionicke work.——————————

But these ornaments were often absurdly introduced into the old Gothic style: as in the magnificent portico of the schools at Oxford, erected about the year 1613; where the builder, in a Gothic edifice, has affectedly displaced his universal skill in the modern architecture, by giving us all the five orders together. However, most of the great buildings of Queen Elizabeth's reign, have a style peculiar to themselves both in form and finishing; where, though much of the old Gothic is retained, and great part of the new taste is adopted, yet neither predominates; while both, thus distinctly blended, compose a

richly ornamented roof, its gloom and perspective, all concur in affecting the imagination with pleasure and delight, at the same time that they inspire awe and devotion. It is undoubtedly one of the most complete, elegant, and magnificent structures in the kingdom; and if, besides these larger works, we take into our view those specimens of exquisite workmanship we meet with in the smaller kinds of oratories, chapels, and monumental edifices, produced so late as the reign of Henry VIII. some of which are still in being, or at least so much of them, as to give an idea of their former grace and beauty, one can hardly help concluding, that architecture arrived at its highest point of glory in this kingdom, but just before its final period. *Bentham.*

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BRITISH MUSEUM 12 JUL 73

Saxon Arch

Saxon Capitals

Saxon Arches

Saxon Arch

A Saxon Capital in the Old Church at Ely.

Saxon & Gothic Ornaments.

Gothic Niche

Contrasted Gothic Arch.

Gothic Arch from four Centers.

Common Gothic Arch.

Method of describing a Gothic Arch.

Saxon Ornament

Saxon Capitals

Arch introduced Temp. Hen. 7.

Saxon Ornament

Gothic Column

HORDEOLC·
FREDEBRVGE·
H. Jdim. Mahncham ten herold. Rgr. W. ten m dnio Wochinges De firma regis E

Die Annotant Tenentes tras In Sudrie

SAXON & GOTHIC ARCHITECTURE &c.

fantastic species, hardly reducible to any class or name. One of its characteristics is the affectation of large and lofty windows; where, says Bacon, you shall have sometimes fair houses so full of glass, that one cannot tell where to become, to be out of the sun."

The marks which constitute the character of Gothic, or Saracenical architecture, are its numerous and prominent buttresses, its lofty spires and pinnacles, its large and ramified windows, its ornamental niches or canopies, its sculptured saints, the delicate lacework of its fretted roofs, and the profusion of ornaments lavished indiscriminately over the whole building: but its peculiar distinguishing characteristics are, the small clustered pillars and pointed arches, formed by the segments of two intersecting circles; which arches, though last brought into use, are evidently of more simple and obvious construction than the semicircular ones; two flat stones, with their tops inclined to each other, and touching, form its rudiments, a number of boughs stuck into the ground opposite each other, and tied together at the top, in order to form a bower, exactly describe it: whereas a semicircular arch appears the result of deeper contrivance, as consisting of more parts; and it seems less probable, chance, from whence all these inventions were first derived, should throw several wedge-like stones between two set perpendicular, so as exactly to fit and fill up the interval.

Bishop Warburton, in his notes on Pope's Epistles, in the octavo edition, has some ingenious observations on this subject, which are given in the note: (t) to which it may not be improper to add

(t) Our gothic ancestors had juster and manlier notions of magnificence, on Greek and Roman ideas, than these mimics of taste, who profess to study only classic elegance: and because the thing does honour to the genius of those barbarians, I shall endeavour to explain it. All our ancient churches are called without distinction Gothic, but erroneously. They are of two sorts; the one built in the Saxon times, the other in the Norman. Several cathedral and collegiate churches of the first sort are yet remaining, either in whole or in part; of which this was the original: when the Saxon kings became Christians, their piety (which was the piety of the times) consisted chiefly in building churches at home, and performing pilgrimages abroad, especially to the Holy Land: and these spiritual exercises assisted and supported one another. For the most venerable as well as most elegant models of religious edifices were then in Palestine. From these the Saxon builders took the whole of their ideas, as may be seen by comparing the drawings which travellers have given us of the churches yet standing in that country, with the Saxon remains of what we find at home; and particularly in that

add some particulars relative to Caen stone, with which many of our ancient cathedrals are built, as extracted from some curious records, originally given in Doctor Ducarrel's Anglo Norman Antiquities.

I shall close this article, with recommending it to such as desire more knowledge of these matters than is communicated in this slight compilation,

sameness of style in the latter religious edifices of the knights templars (professedly built upon the model of the church of the Holy Scriptures at Jerusalem) with the earlier remains of our Saxon edifices. Now the architecture of the Holy Land was Grecian, but greatly fallen from its ancient elegance. Our Saxon performance was indeed a bad copy of it; and as much inferior to the works of St. Helene and Justinian, as theirs were to the Grecian models they had followed: yet still the footsteps of ancient art appeared in the circular arches, the entire columns, the division of the entablature into a sort of architrave, frize, and corniche, and a solidity equally diffused over the whole mass. This, by way of distinction, I would call the Saxon architecture. But our Norman works had a very different original. When the Goths had conquered Spain, and the genial warmth of the climate, and the religion of the old inhabitants had ripened their wits, and inflamed their mistaken piety, (both kept in exercise by the neighbourhood of the Saracens, through emulation of their service, and aversion to their superstition) they struck out a new species of architecture, unknown to Greece and Rome; upon original principles, and ideas much nobler than what had given birth even to classical magnificence. For this northern people, having been accustomed, during the gloom of paganism, to worship the deity in groves (a practice common to all nations) when their new religion required covered edifices, they ingeniously projected to make them resemble groves, as nearly as the distance of architecture would permit; at once indulging their old prejudices, and providing for their present conveniences, by a cool receptacle in a sultry climate: and with what skill and success they executed the project, by the assistance of Saracen architects, whose exotic style of building very luckily suited their purpose, appears from hence, that no attentive observer ever viewed a regular avenue of well-grown trees, intermixing their branches over head, but it presently put him in mind of the long visto through the Gothic cathedral; or even entered one of the larger and more elegant edifices of this kind, but it presented to his imagination an avenue of trees; and this alone is what can be truly called the Gothic style of building. Under this idea of so extraordinary a species of architecture, all the irregular transgressions against art, all the monstrous offences against nature disappear; every thing has its reason, every thing is in order, and an harmonious whole arises from the studious application of means proper and proportioned to the end. For could the arches be otherwise than pointed, when the workmen were to imitate that curve, which branches of two opposite trees made by their insertion with one another; or could the columns be otherways than split into distinct shafts, when they were to represent the stems of a clump of trees, growing close together? On the same principles they formed the spreading ramification of the stone work in the windows, and the stained glass in the interstices; the one to represent the branches, and the other the leaves of an opening grove, and both concurred to preserve that gloomy light which inspires religious reverence and dread. Lastly, we see the reason of their studied aversion to apparent solidity in these stupendous masses, deemed so absurd by men accustomed to the apparent as well as real strength of Grecian architecture. Had it been only a wanton exercise of the artist's skill, to shew he could give real strength without the appearance of

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compilation, to peruse Wren's Parentalia, Warton's Thoughts on Spenser's Fairy Queen, and the Ornaments of Churches considered; but, above all, Mr. Bentham's Dissertation on Saxon and Norman Architecture, prefixed to his History of Ely, to which the author of this account esteems himself much beholden.

any, we might indeed admire his superior science; but we must needs condemn his ill judgment. But when one considers, that this surprising lightness was necessary, to complete the execution of his idea of a sylvan place of worship, one cannot sufficiently admire the ingenuity of the contrivance. This too will account for the contrary qualities in what I call the Saxon architecture. These artists copied, as has been said, from the churches in the Holy Land, which were built on the models of the Grecian architecture, but corrupted by prevailing barbarism; and still further depraved by a religious idea. The first places of Christian worship were sepulchres and subterraneous caverns, low and heavy from necessity. When Christianity became the religion of the state, and sumptuous temples began to be erected, they yet, in regard to the first pious ages, preserved the massive style, made still more venerable by the church of the Holy Sepulchre; where this style was, on a double account, followed and aggravated.

In page 7 of this preface, it is said, that the keeps of the ancient castles were coined, and their arches faced with stone, brought from Caen in Normandy: a curious gentleman has favoured me with the following particulars respecting this stone. Formerly vast quantities of this stone were brought to England; London Bridge, Westminster Abbey, and many other edifices, being built therewith. *See Stowe's Survey of London, edit.* 1633, *p.* 31, 32, *&c. See also Rot. Liter. patent. Norman. de anno* 6 *Hen. V. P.* 1, *m.* 22.—"De quarreris albæ petræ in suburbio villæ de Caen annexandis dominio regis pro reparatione ecclesiarum, castrorum, et fortalitiorum, tam in Anglia quam in Normannia." *See also Rot. Normanniæ, de anno* 9 *Hen. V. m.* 31, *dors.*—Arrestando naves pro transportatione lapidum et petrarum, pro constructione abbatiæ Sancti Petri de Westminster a partibus Cadomi." *Ibid. m.* 30.—"Pro domo Jesu de Bethleem de Shene, de lapidibus in quarreris circa villam de Cadomo capiendis pro constructione ecclesiæ, claustri, et cellarum domus prædictæ." *See also Rot. Franciæ, de anno* 35. *Hen. VI. m.* 2.—"Pro salvo conductu ad supplicationem abbatis et conventus Beati Petri Westmonasterii, pro mercatoribus de Caen in Normannia, veniendis in Angliam cum lapidibus de Caen pro reparatione monasterii prædicti. Teste rege, apud Westm. 15 die Augusti." *See also Rot. Franciæ, de anno* 38 *Hen. VI. m.* 23.—"De salvo conductu pro nave de Caen in regnum Angliæ revenienda, cum lapidibus de Caen pro reparatione monasterii de Westminster. Teste rege apud West. 9 die Maii. Now, however, the exportation of this stone out of France, is so strictly prohibited, that when it is to be sent by sea, the owner of the stone, as well as the master of the vessel on board which it is shipped, is obliged to give security that it shall not be sold to foreigners.

DOMESDAY BOOK.

DOMESDAY Book, according to Sir Henry Spelman, if not the the most ancient, yet without controversy, (a) the most venerable monument of Great Britain, contains an account of all the lands of England; except the four Northern counties, Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, Durham, and part of Lancashire; and describes the quantity and particular nature of them, whether meadow, pasture, arable, wood, or waste land: it mentions their rents and taxations; and records the several possessors of lands, their number, and distinct degrees. King Alfred, about the year 900, composed a book of like nature; of which this was in some measure a copy.

This work, according to the Red Book in the Exchequer, was begun, by order of William the Conqueror, with the advice of his parliament, in the year of our Lord 1080, and completed in the year 1086. (b) The reason given for doing it, as assigned by several ancient records and histories, was, that every man should be satisfied with his own right; and not usurp with impunity, what belonged to another. (c) Besides these, other motives seem to

(a) Mr. Selden, in his preface to Eadmerus, p. 4, speaking of Domesday, says, "Neque puto alibi in orbe Christiano actorum publicorum autographa, quorum saltem ratio aliqua habenda est, extare quæ non sæculis aliquot his cedunt."

(b) This also appears, from the concurrent testimony of divers ancient writers; and from an entry written at the end of the second volume of the work itself; where, in a large coeval hand, in capitals, are the words following: "Anno millesimo octogesimo sexto ab incarnatione Domini, vigesimo vero regni Willi, facta est ista descriptio, non solum per hos tres comitatus sed etiam, per alios."——My Lord Lyttelton, in his History of Henry II. vol. ii. page 289, says, "It was made by order of William I. with the advice of his parliament, the year 1086; but it seems not to have been finished till the following year." His lordship does not cite any authority to prove this supposition.

(c) The author of the Dialogues de Scaccario, who wrote in the time of Henry II. book i. cap. xvi. gives this account of it, speaking of William the Conqueror: "Demum ne quid deesse videretur ad omnem totius providentiæ summam, communicato consilio, discretissimos a latere suo destinavit viros per regnum in circuitu, ab his itaque totius terræ descriptio diligens facta est, tam in nemoribus quam pascuis, et pratis, nec non et agriculturis, et verbis communibus annotata, in librum redacta est; ut videlicet quilibet jure suo contentus alienum non usurpet impune. Fit autem descriptio per comitatus, per

to have occasioned this survey. Sir Martin Wright, in his Introduction to the Law of Tenures, appears to be of this opinion; which

per centuriatas et hydas, prænotato in ipso capite regis nomine et deinde seriatim aliorum procerum nominibus appositis secundum status sui dignitatem, qui videlicet de rege tenent in capite. Apponuntur autem singulis numeris secundum ordinem sic dispositis, per quos inferius in ipsa libri serie, quæ ad eos pertinent facilius occurrant. Hic liber ab indigenis Domus Dei nuncupatur, id est, dies judicii, per metaphoram. Sicut enim districti et terribilis examinis illius novissimi sententia, nulla tergiversationis arte valet eludi: sic cum orta fuit in regno contentio de his rebus quæ illic annotantur; cum ventum fuerit ad librum, sententiæ ejus infatuari non potest, vel impune declinari. Ob hoc nos eundem librum judiciorum nominavimus; non quod in eo de præpositis aliquibus dubiis feratur sententia: sed quod ab eo, sicut a prædicto judicio non licet ulla ratione discedere. *Drateg. de Scacc. page* 30, 31, *published by Mr. Madox.*

The Saxon Chronicle, published by Bishop Gibson, thus mentions it: "Post hæc tenuit rex magnum concilium, et graves sermones habuit cum suis proceribus de hac terra, quo modo incoleretur, et a quibus hominibus. Mittebat idcirco per totam Anglorum terram in singulos comitatus suos servos, quibus permisit scrutari quot hydarum centenæ essent in comitatu, et quantum census annui deberet percipere, ex eo comitatu. Permisit etiam describi, quantum terrarum ejus archiepiscopi haberent, et diocesani episcopi, ac ejus abbates, ejus comites; et ne longior in hoc sim, quid aut quantum unusquisque haberet, qui terras possideret in Anglorum gente, sive terrarum, sive pecoris quantum illud pecunia valeret. Tam diligenter lustrari terram permisit ut ne unica esset hyda, aut virgata terræ, nequidem (quod dictu turpe, verum in factu turpe, non existimarit) bos, aut vacca, aut porcus prætermittebatur, quod non is retulerat in censum: omniaque postea scripta ad eum efferebantur. *Page* 116, *anno* 1085.

In the Escheat Rolls of Edward III. the occasion and manner of making this survey, and its authority, are declared nearly in the same words of the Author of the Dialogues de Scaccario. It is thus spoken of in the Annals of Waverly: "Misit rex Willelmus justitiarios suos per unamquamque Scyram, id est provinciam Angliæ, et inquirere fecit per jus jurandum quot hidæ, id est jugera uni aratro sufficientia per annum, essent in unaquaque villa, et quot animalia; hinc autem fecit inquiri quid unaquaque urbs, castellum, vicus, villa, flumen, palus silva reddit per annum; hæc autem omnia in chartis scripta delata sunt ad regem, et in thesauros reposita usque hodie servantur. Rex tenuit curiam suam in natali apud Glocestre, ad pascha apud Wintoniam, ad pentecostem apud Londoniam; deinde accipiens hominum omnium terrariorum Angliæ cujuscunque feodi essent, juramentum fidelitatis, recipere non distulit." *Page* 133.

Mr. Agard, in his Preface to the Obsolete words in Domesday Book, assigns an additional reason for the Conqueror's making this survey: "Conquestor sub ipso suo ingressu regnum, hoc annuo tributo (Danegelt vocatum) taxatum invenit; pro quo colligendo, Rex Ethelredus totum regnum in hidas divisit, quarum singula sex solidos persolvere tenetur. Cum vero Rex Willielmus illud aliquando majoris, aliquando minoris emolumenti esse in comperto habuisset, optimum esse duxit, ut inquisitio per totum regnum haberetur, qua dignosceret, quantum singula oppida, villæ, et hamletta numerare tenerentur; et ut libro Domesday scriberetur in verbis, pro vi solidis. Hidæ, vel carucatis se defendit, quod æque valet ac si diceret, pro tot solidis. Hidæ, vel carucatis Danegelt persolvit." The author of the notes to the Register

which he expresses in the following words: "It is very remarkable, that William I. about the twentieth year of his reign, just when the general survey of England, called Domesday Book, is supposed to be finished, and not till then, summoned all the great men and landholders in the kingdom to London and Salisbury, to do their homage, and swear their fealty to him; by doing whereof, the Saxon Chronicler supposes, that at that time, the proceres, et omnes prædia tenentes, se illi subdidere, ejusque facti sunt Vasalli; so that we may reasonably suppose, First, That this general homage and fealty was done at this time (nineteen or twenty years after the accession of William I.) in consequence of something new; or else that engagements so important to the maintenance and security of a new establishment, had been required long before; and if so, it is probable that tenures were then new; inasmuch as homage and fealty were, and still are, mere feudal engagements, binding the homager to all the duties and observances of a feudal tenant. Secondly, That as this general homage and fealty was done about the time that Domesday Book was finished, and not before, we may suppose that that survey was taken upon or soon after our ancestors consent to tenures, in order to discover the quantity of every man's fee, and to fix his homage. This supposition is the more probable, because it is not likely that a work of this nature was undertaken without some immediate reason; and no better reason can be assigned why it was undertaken at this time, or indeed why this survey should be taken at all: there being at that time extant a general survey of the whole kingdom, made by Alfred.

For the execution of this survey, commissioners were sent into every county and shire; and juries summoned in each hundred, out of all orders of freemen, from barons down to the lowest farmers; who were upon oath to inform the commissioners the name of each manor, and that of its owner; also by whom it was held in the

of Original Writs, p. 14, erroneously asserts that this book was made in the time of Edward the Confessor. His words are: "Fait assavoir que le livre de Domesday fuit fait en temps de St. Edw. le roy, et touts les terres que furent en le mien de dit Seint E. all. temps que le livre fuist fait sount ancien demene, et les terres que furent adonques en auter main sount Frankfee." This mistake hath been adopted by Fitzherbert.

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time of Edward the Confessor; the number of hides, the quantity of wood, of pasture, and meadow land; how many ploughs were in the demesne, and how many in the tenanted part of it; how many mills, how many fish-ponds, or fisheries belonged to it; with the value of the whole together in the time of King Edward, as well as when granted by King William, and at the time of this survey; also whether it was capable of improvement, or of being advanced in its value: they were likewise directed to return the tenants of every degree, the quantity of lands now and formerly held by each of them; and what was the number of the villains or slaves; and also the number and kinds of their cattle and live stock. These inquisitions being first methodized in the county, were afterwards sent up to the king's Exchequer; some of the particulars, concerning which the jury were directed to enquire, were thought unnecessary to be inserted. This survey, at the time in which it was made, gave great offence to the people; and occasioned a jealousy that it was intended for the foundation of some new imposition.

Notwithstanding the precaution taken by the Conqueror to have this survey faithfully and impartially executed, it appears, from indisputable authority (d) that a false return was given in by some of the commissioners; and that, as it is said, out of a pious motive. This was in the case of the abbey of Croyland in Lincolnshire; the possessions of which were greatly under-rated, both with regard to quantity and value. Perhaps similar, or more interested inducements, may have operated in other instances. A deviation from truth, so clearly proved, fully justifies a suspicion of the veracity of

(d) Ingulphus, abbot of Croyland, himself confesses it in his account of this survey. His own words are: "Totam teram descripsit, nec erat hida in tota Anglia, quin valorem ejus et possessorem suum scivit: nec lacus, nec locus aliquis, quin in regis rotulo extitit descriptus, ac ejus reditus et proventus, ipsa possessio et ejus possessor regiæ notitiæ manifestatus, juxta taxatorum fidem qui electi de qualibet patria territorium proprium describebant. Iste penes nostrum monasterium benevole et amantes non *ad verum pretium* nec *ad verum spatium* nostrum monasterium librabrant, misericorditer præcaventes in futurum regiis exactionibus et aliis oneribus *piissima* nobis benevolentia providentes. In illo vero descripti sunt, non tantum totius terræ comitatus, centuriæ et decuriæ, sylvæ, saltus, et villæ universæ; sed in omni territorio quot carucatæ terræ, quot jugera, et quot acræ, quæ pascua et paludes, quæ tenementa, et qui tenentes continebantur." *Ingulphus, printed among the Scriptores Ang. vol. i. p.* 80, 81.

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any record or testimony. Perhaps more of these pious returns were discovered; as it is said, Ralph Flambard, minister to William Rufus, proposed the making a fresh and more rigorous inquisition; but it was never executed.

Nevertheless, in despight of this impeachment of its credibility, "the authority of Domesday Book (e) in point of tenure, hath never been permitted to be called in question; for instance, when it hath been necessary to distinguish whether lands were held in ancient demesne, or in what other manner, recourse hath always been had to Domesday Book, and to that only, to determine the doubt. If lands were set down in that book, under the title of Terra Regis, or if it was said there, Rex habet such land, or such a town, it was determined to be the king's ancient demesne. If the land or town

(e) The tallages formerly assessed upon the king's tenants in ancient demesne, were usually greater than the tallages upon persons in the counties at large; and therefore, when persons were wrongfully tallaged with those in ancient demesne, it was usual for them to petition the crown to be tallaged with the community of the county at large: upon this the king's writ issued to the barons of the Exchequer, to acquit the party aggrieved of such tallage, in case, upon search of Domesday Book, the barons found the lands were not in ancient demesne. *Madox Firma Burgi, p. 5 and 6, Hist. of the Exchequer, p.* 499, 500.

The pound so often mentioned in Domesday Book (says Sir Robert Atkins, in his History of Gloucestershire) for reserved rent, was the weight of a pound in silver, consisting of twelve ounces, which is equal in weight to three pounds and two shillings of our present money: the same weight in gold is now worth forty-eight pounds.

The shilling mentioned in the same book, consisted of twelve pence, and is equal in weight to three shillings of our money. The denomination of a shilling was of different value in different nations; and often of a different value in the same nation, as the government thought fit to alter it. There was no such piece of money ever coined in this kingdom, until the year 1504, in the latter end of the reign of King Henry VII. In the Saxon times, there went forty-eight shillings to the pound; then the shilling was accounted at five pence: and every one of those pence being of the weight of our threepence, a shilling then must make fifteen pence; and forty-eight times fifteen pence, a pound weight. In the Norman time, and ever since, a shilling was accounted twelvepence; and every penny as aforesaid, weighing threepence, there must be the weight of three of our shillings in one shilling of the Norman computation; and consequently twenty Norman shillings do likewise make a pound weight. Silver pence were anciently the only current coin of England; and afterwards about the reign of King John, silver halfpence and silver farthings were introduced. The penny was the greatest piece of silver coin until the year 1353, when King Edward III. began to coin groats; and they had their name from their large size, for Gross did signify Great. Crowns and half crowns were first coined in the reign of King Edward VI. in the year 1551, about one hundred and sixty years since. *Page 5.* It may not be improper to add, that a carucate, hide or plow-land, was a certain quantity of land, about one hundred and twenty acres.

was

was therein set down under the name of a private lord or subject, then it was determined to have been, at the time of the survey, the land of such private person, and not ancient demesne." Indeed, its name is said to have been derived from its definitive authority, from which, as from the sentence pronounced at Doomsday or the Day of Judgment, there could be no appeal. But Stowe assigns another reason for this appellation; Domesday Book being, according to him, a corruption of Domus Dei Book; a title given it, because heretofore deposited in the king's treasury, in a place of the church of Westminster, or Winchester, called Domus Dei; but this last explanation has but few advocates. This record is comprised in two volumes; one a large folio, the other a quarto. The first is written on three hundred and eighty-two double papers of vellum, in a small, but plain character; each page having a double column. Some of the capital letters and principal passages are touched with red ink, and some have strokes of red ink run cross them, as if scratched out. This volume contains the description of thirty-one counties, arranged and written as follows:

	Chent —	fol. 1		Wiricestrescire	fol. 172
	Sudsex —	16		Herefordscire —	179
	Sudrie —	30		Grantbr'scire —	189
	Hantscire —	38		Huntedunscire —	203
5	Berrochescire —	56	20	Bedefordscire —	209
	Wiltscire —	64		Northantscire —	219
	Dorsette —	75		Ledecestrescire —	230
	Sumersite —	86		Warwicscire —	238
	Devenescire —	100		Staffordscire —	245
10	Cornualgie —	120	25	Sciropescire —	252
	Midlesex —	126		Cestrescire —	262
	Hertfordscire —	132		Derbyscire —	272
	Bockinghamscire	143		Snotingh'scire —	280
	Oxenfordscire —	154		Roteland	f. 293, 367
15	Glowcest'scire —	162		Eurviscire —	298, 379

Lindesig, or Lincolnshire, fol. 336, divided into the West Riding, North Riding, and East Riding.

Towards the beginning of each county, there is a catalogue of the capital lords or great land-holders, who possessed any thing in it; beginning with the king; and then naming the great lords, according to their rank and dignity.

The other volume is in quarto; it is written on four hundred and fifty double pages of vellum, but in a single column, and in a large but very fair character. It contains the counties of Essex, fol. 1, Norfolk, fol. 109, Suffolk, fol. 281, to the end. Part of the county of Rutland is included in that of Northampton; and part of Lancashire in the counties of York and Chester.

From the great care formerly taken for the preservation of this survey, may be gathered the estimation of its importance; the Dialogue de Scaccario says, "Liber ille (Domesday) sigilli regis comes est individuus in thesauro."

Until of late years, it has been kept under three different locks and keys, one in the custody of the treasurer, and the others of the two chamberlains of the Exchequer. It is now deposited in the Chapter House at Westminster, where it may be consulted on paying to the proper officers a fee of 6*s*. 8*d*. for a search, and four-pence per line for a transcript.

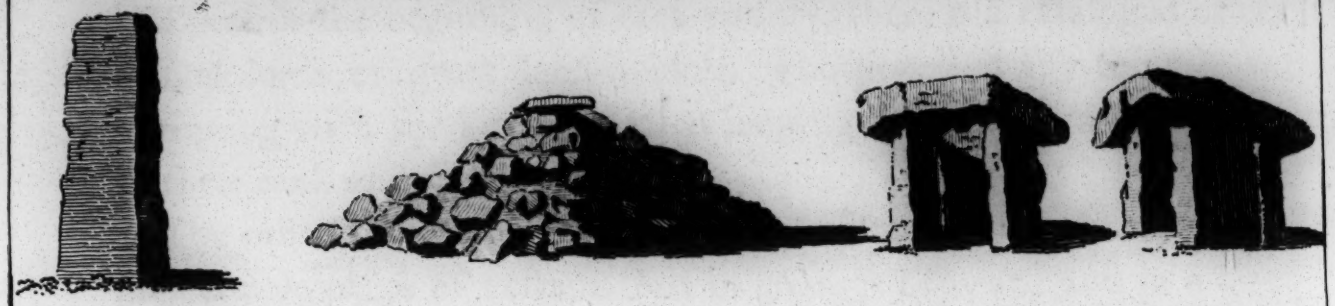
Many parts of this ancient record have been printed in different county histories, and many more are to be found in public and private libraries. A catalogue of them is given in an account of Domesday Book, written by Philip Carteret Webb, Esq. and published in 1756, by the Antiquarian Society: another has been since published by Richard Gough, Esq. in his useful book, entitled, Anecdotes of British Topography, ranged under the different counties. The whole has been lately printed at the public expence, with types cast for that purpose, for the use of the members of parliament.

BRITISH MUSEUM
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N.º 1.

Carne or Carnedd.

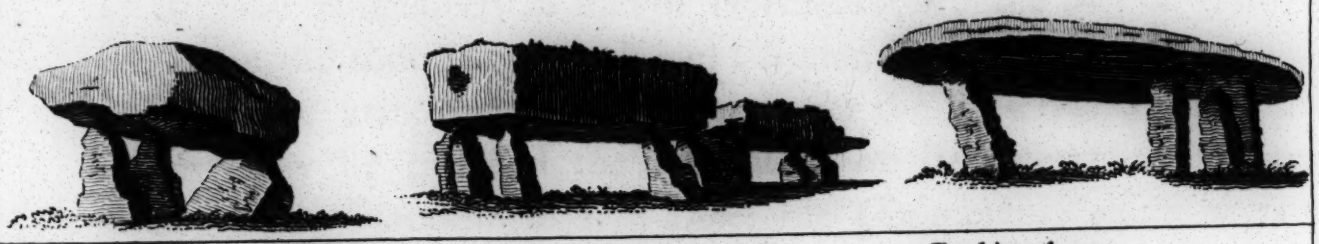
Kist-vain.



Cromleh near Dundalk Ireland.

Cromleh near Plaisnewdd in Anglesea.

Lanyon Cromleh Cornwall.



Tolmen S.t Mary's Scilly.

Tolmen Northwethel Scilly.

Rocking Stone.



Druidical Circle near Keswick in Cumberland.



Rock Basons.

Rock Bason Coit at Karnbre.



Goodnight sc.t

DRUIDICAL ANTIQUITIES.

Pub.d by S. Hooper April 16. 1784.

DRUIDICAL MONUMENTS.

DRUIDICAL Monuments consist of Obelisques, being large stones or pillars set up perpendicularly, Carnes or Carnedes, Cromlehs or Cromleiches, Kist vaens, Rocking stones, Tolmen or stones of passage, Rock basons, and circles or ovals.

OF SINGLE STONES.

These monuments are the most simple and undoubtedly of more ancient date than druidism itself; they were placed as memorials recording different events, such as remarkable instances of God's mercies, contracts, singular victories, boundaries, and sometimes sepulchres; various instances of these monuments erected by the patriarchs, occur in the Old Testament. Such was that raised by Jacob at Lug, afterwards by him named Bethel, such also was the pillar placed by him over the grave of Rachel. They were likewise marks of execrations and magical talismans.

These stones from having long been considered as objects of veneration, at length were by the ignorant and superstitious idolatrously worshipped; wherefore, after the introduction of christianity, some had crosses cut on them, which was considered as snatching them from the service of the devil.

Vulgar superstition of a later date has led the common people to consider them as persons transformed into stone for the punishment of some crime, generally that of sabbath breaking, but this tale is not confined to single stones, but is told also of whole circles: witness the monuments called the Hurlers in Cornwall, and Rollorick stones in Warwickshire.

The first are by the vulgar supposed to have been once men, and thus transformed as a punishment for playing on the Lord's day at a game called hurling; the latter a pagan king and his army.

CARNES.

Carnes or carneds were commonly situated on eminences, so that they might be visible one from the other; they are formed of stones of all dimensions, thrown together in a conical form, a flat stone crowning the apex, the ramp or ascent is generally pretty easy, though Toland supposes the Druids ascended them by means of ladders. Carnes are of different sizes, some of them containing at least an hundred cart loads of stones. According to the writer above cited, fires were kindled on the tops or flat stones, at certain times of the year, particularly on the eves of the first of May and the first of November, for the purpose of sacrificing, at which time all the people having extinguished their domestic hearths, rekindled them from the sacred fires of the carnes.

Mr. Rowland in his Mona Antiqua, supposes the smaller Carnedes to be sepulchral monuments, formed with stones thrown on the grave by the friends of the deceased, not only with an intent to mark the place of their interment, but also to protect their corps from wild beasts and other injuries, but allows the larger monuments of this kind, particularly where accompanied by standing pillars of stone, to have been erected as marks of sacrifices or some religious ceremony, such as the solemn convention, recorded by Moses to have been made between Jacob and Laban.

KIST VAENS.

Kist Vaens, that is, stone chests, commonly consist of four flaggs or thin stones, two of which are set up edgeways, nearly parallel; a third shorter than the other two, is placed at right angles, to them thus forming the sides, and closing the end of the chest; the fourth, laid flat on the top, makes the lid or cover, which, on account of the inequality of its supporters, inclines to the horizon at the closed end. Mr. Toland supposes Kist Vaens to have been altars for sacrifice, most of them having originally belonged

belonged to a circle or temple, the inclination of the covering he imagines to have been intended to facilitate the draining of the blood from the victim into the holy vessel placed to receive it; he denies their having been places of burial, saying the bones frequently found near them were remains of the victims. These monuments are in the islands of Guernsey and Jersey still called autels, or altars and poquelays, i. e. a heap of stones. Mr. Borlace, in his History of Cornwall, combats the notion of their being altars for sacrifice, and on the contrary judges them to be sepulchral monuments, and in support of his opinion urges the following reasons. First, that they were not altars, because on account of their general height, the priest could not officiate standing on the ground, that to ascend them would have been dangerous and difficult, and when mounted, his footing from the irregularity of most of these stones, would have been extremely unstable, added to which, he could not have been sufficiently distant to avoid being scorched by the fire, which besides several of the coits or covers being Moore stone would not resist, but be likely to split asunder; to prove their being sepulchral monuments, he mentions a similar instance in altar tombs, which probably obtained their denomination from their resemblance to an altar, not from sacrifices being performed on them, and adds, that the area commonly enclosed within a Kest vaen is nearly equal to that occupied by a human body. Mr. Rowland takes the middle between both, saying, "their being sepulchral monuments I deny not, but there may be some appearance of truth, yet consistent enough of what I have said of them, for they may be both sepulchers and altars in a different sense, I mean those of latter erection, because when the great ones of the first ages fell, who were eminent among the people for some extraordinary qualities and virtues, their enamoured posterity continued their veneration of them to their very graves, over which they probably erected some of these altars or cromleche, on which when the true religion became depraved and corrupted, they might have oblations and other sacrifices to their departed ghosts."

ROCK BASONS.

Rock Basons are cavities or artifical basons of different sizes, from six feet to a few inches diameter, cut in the surface of the rocks, for the purpose, as is supposed, of collecting the dew and rain, pure as it descended from the heavens, for the use of ablutions and purifications, prescribed in the druidical religion, these, especially the dew, being deemed the purest of all fluids. There are two sorts of these basons, one with lips or communications between the different basons, the other simple cavities. The lips as low as the bottom of the basons, which are horizontal and communicate with one somewhat lower, so contrived that the contents fell by a gradual descent through a succession of basons either to the ground, or into a vessel set to receive it; this will be better explained by the plate.

The basons without lips might be intended for reservoirs to preserve the rain or dew in its original purity, without touching any other vessel, and was perhaps used for the druid to drink, or wash his hands, previous to officiating at any high ceremony, or else to mix with their misletoe.

Some of these basons are so formed as to receive the head and part of the human body; one of this kind is found on a rock called King Arthur's bed, in the parish of North Hall in Cornwall, where are also others, called by the country people Arthur's troughs, in which, they say, he used to feed his dogs.

LOGGON OR ROCKING STONES.

These are huge stones so exactly poised on a point, as to be easily caused to rock or vibrate, if touched at a certain place, some of these are artificial, and others natural rocks cleared of the circumjacent earth. These were probably used by the druids as instruments of pious fraud, like the statue of St. Rumbold by the monks of a monastery in Kent; which statue, though only the size and figure of an infant, could not, it was pretended, be lifted by any one labouring under an unexpiated offence, that is, one who

who had not by alms and offerings purchased their absolution. The figure stood on a kind of pedestal against the wall, to which it was secured by a secret peg, which might be put in or withdrawn on the other side. If the penitent was niggardly in his offering to the saint, the peg was applied, and the figure became immoveable even by the strongest man; and on the contrary, a liberal benefaction made it easy to be lifted by the most delicate girl. In like manner these stones might be so managed as to vibrate, or not, according to the will of the druids, who might impede its motion by wedges, or direct the application to be made at the wrong point. Some of these stones had rock basons on them, as perhaps a sacred ablution made a part of the ceremonial.

THE CROMLEH.

The cromlech or cromleh chiefly differs from the Kist vaen, in not being closed up at the end and sides, that is, in not so much partaking of the chest like figure; it is also generally of larger dimensions, and sometimes consists of a greater number of stones; the terms cromleh and kist vaen are however indiscriminately used for the same monument. The term cromlech is derived from the armoric word crum, crooked or bowing, and leh stone, alluding to the reverence which persons paid to them by bowing. Rowland derives it from the Hebrew words, signifying a devoted or consecrated stone, they are thus described by him.

These altars of stone, where stone served to raise them up, were huge broad flattish stones, mounted up and laid upon erect ones, and leaning with a little declivity in some places, on those pitched supporters, which posture for some unaccountable reasons they seem to have affected.

They are called by the vulgar Coetne Arthur, or Arthur's Quoits, it being a custom in Wales as well as Cornwall, to ascribe all great or wonderful objects to Prince Arthur, the hero of those countries.

CIRCLES, OVALS, &c.

THESE, it is now generally agreed, were temples, and many writers think also places of solemn assemblies for councils or elections, and seats of judgment. Mr. Borlace is of this opinion, "instead, therefore, (says he) of detaining the reader with a dispute, whether they were places of worship or council, it may, with great probability, be asserted, that they were used for both purposes, and having, for the most part, been first dedicated to religion, naturally became afterwards the curiæ and foræ of the same community."

These temples, though generally circular, occasionally differ as well in figure as magnitude; with relation to the first, the most simple were composed of one circle, Stonehenge consisted of two circles and two ovals, respectively concentric; whilst that at Bottalch, near St. Just in Cornwall, is formed by four intersecting circles. And the great temple, at Abiry in Wiltshire, it is said, described the figure of a seraph or fiery flying serpent, represented by circles and right lines. Some, besides circles, have avenues of stone pillars. Most, if not all of them, have pillars or altars within their penetralia or center.

In the article of magnitude and number of stones, there is the greatest variety. Some circles being only twelve feet diameter, and formed only of twelve stones, whilst others, such as Stonehenge and Abury, contained, the first one hundred and forty, and the second six hundred and fifty-two, and occupied many acres of ground.

All these different numbers and measures and arrangements had their pretended reference; either to the astronomical divisions of the year, or some mysteries of the druidical religion. Mr. Borlace, however, supposes that those very small circles sometimes formed of a low bank of earth, sometimes of stones erect, and frequently of loose small stones, thrown together in a circular form, enclosing an area of about three yards diameter, without any larger circle round them, were originally places of burial.

The

THE TOLMEN.

The word *Tolmen* signifies *the hole of stone:* this monument is formed by a large orbicular stone, supported by two smaller, betwixt which there is an aperture or passage. "What use the ancients made of these passages (says Mr. Borlace) we can only guess; but we have reason to think, that when stones were once ritually consecrated, they attributed great and miraculous virtues to every part of them, and imagined that whatever touched, lay down upon, was surrounded by, or passed through or under these stones, acquired thereby a kind of holiness, and became more acceptable to the Gods. This passage might also be a sanctuary for the offender to fly to, and shelter himself from the pursuer; but I imagine it chiefly to have been intended and used for introducing proselytes or novices, people under vows, or about to sacrifice, into their more sublime mysteries; for the same reason I am apt to think the vast architraves or cross stones resting upon the uprights at Stonehenge, were erected; namely, with an intent to consecrate and prepare worshippers, by passing through those holy rocks, for the better entering upon the offices which were to be performed in the penetralia, the most sacred part of the temple."

There is a rock of the Tolmen kind at Bombay in the East-Indies, which is held in great veneration by the Gentoos, it is called *The Rock of Purification*; a passage through it is considered as a purifying the penitent from all sins; and such is its estimation in the neighbouring countries, that tradition says, the famous pirate, Conagee Angria, ventured by stealth into the island, on purpose to perform that ceremony; the aperture is described as so small that a man of any corpulence cannot possibly squeeze through: perhaps it may be used as a gage to ascertain whether the party has sufficiently reduced himself, by fasting and other mortifications.

Having thus enumerated the different kinds of what are usually styled *Druidical Monuments*, and generally pointed out the uses for which they are supposed to have been erected or appropriated, I shall conclude this article with remarking, that in all the different parts of this kingdom, where these monuments are found, the common people retain a kind of traditionary reverence for them, without being able to assign any reason for their veneration; and all relate almost similar stories, serving to prove, that great and uncommon misfortunes have attended those persons who have ventured to break or remove them.

The same tale that is told of Stonehenge is also related of almost every other large Druidical Circle, by its local historian, namely, that no one has ever been able to count the stones of which it is composed, so as to make the numbers of two successive reckonings agree. Although a baker once essayed to do it, by placing a loaf on every stone, and afterwards counting the loaves, yet on a second trial he always found the former number of loaves either too many or too few.

ADDENDA

TO THE

PREFACE.

MONUMENTS.

As sepulchral monuments and fonts make a considerable part of the ecclesiastical antiquities of this kingdom, although they do not come immediately under my first plan, yet having been prevailed on to make this Preface a kind of introduction to the general study of British Antiquities, I shall, in order to compleat it, briefly point out the different kinds of both, with the leading principles by which we may be enabled to guess with some degree of probability at the time of their construction. In this investigation I shall not carry my enquiries beyond the period of the Conquest, nor bring them farther down than the last century; neither shall I enter into a detail of the different manners of preparing the corpse, or the various kinds of coffins for containing it; but confine my observations to the forms of the external tomb, or ornaments on incumbent stones laid over it, to mark whose remains were there deposited.

The earliest monuments, at least those in churches, were in all likelihood flat coffin-shaped stones, making part of the pavement; at first they were only inscribed with the name and rank of the person there buried; the figure of the cross was not engraved on them, to avoid the indignity of its being trampled under foot.

Afterwards

Afterwards Kenneth, king of Scotland, is said to have issued an order for cutting the cross on all grave-stones; but directed that care should be taken not to trample on them. Some regulation of this nature might possibly take place in England.

That the first monuments admitted into churches, and making part of the pavement, were flat, and not raised to a ridge, as was afterwards the fashion, seems probable; as the latter would have been very likely to trip up the priests walking and singing in procession, with their eyes directed to their books. Thus the great Earl of Devon is buried under the steps of the high altar at Christ-Church, Hampshire, with only this inscription:—BALDEWIN FILI. WILLI. COMITIS DEVONIÆ, rudely cut, without any ornament whatsoever.

The monuments of persons of distinction, about the time of, or soon after the Conquest, were formed like the shrines in which the relicks of saints were deposited; these were similar to the ancient coffins, the bottoms being shaped like those of the present time, that is, broadest near the shoulders, and tapering towards the feet, but covered with a lid *en dos d'ane*, *i. e.* rising to a ridge or angle in the middle, with both ends sloped off triangularly, the whole resembling the roof of a house; and indeed the intent was the same in the construction of both, namely, to prevent the rain or any moisture lodging on the top: a stone of this kind is shewn in plate I. figure 2; such is the monument of King William Rufus, in the cathedral of Winchester, and such also is that of the Lady Juga, in Little Dunmow church, but both are considerably elevated above the ground. Lady Juga's monument at present stands under an arch in the church wall. See representations of both in plate I. Fig. 3. is the tomb of William Rufus, Fig. 1. that of the Lady Juga.

Elevated table monuments, adorned with cumbent figures, were used very early; but they were chiefly for kings, or very great personages, and were placed under magnificent erections like oratories, having ornamented flat canopies called Testoons over them.

Another

Another species of early monuments were those of bishops, abbots, or other dignitaries of the church; these are generally flat coffin-shaped stones, level with the floor, and serving both as tomb stone and pavement, commonly ornamented with crosses of different kinds, occasionally held by a hand coming as it were from under the stone. One of this sort is in the cathedral of Winchester, engraved in the antiquarian repertory, and another in Mr. Gough's elegant publication on sepulchral monuments. Some of these have inscriptions deeply cut in Saxon characters, about their sides, which it is said were formerly filled up with lead. These inscriptions are sometimes Latin, but oftener old French, beginning at the head with *Cy Gist*, and frequently promising a certain number of days' indulgence or pardon for those who will pray for them. Some of these have crosses at the beginning and end of the inscription; a specimen of this kind of monument is given in plate II. fig. 1, where there are also several other of this kind of grave-stones. Monuments of this sort occur as early as the beginning of the fourteenth century, and are found as late as the beginning of the sixteenth; but the latter have the common Gothic letter. Dates are rarely found on ancient monuments, though there are instances where we meet with them.

Where an abbot, as lord of the manor, had temporal authority, and was entitled to the privilege of the furcâ, &c. he had the sword joined to the crosier. An instance of which appears in the tomb of the abbot of Bala Sala, in the Isle of Man, represented in plate II. fig. 2.

The crusades gave rise to a particular sort of sepulchral monument, whereon the figure of the person contained is always represented with his right leg crossed over his left. This figure is completely armed, generally in the hawberk, or coat, and hood of mail; over it a surcoat, girded about the middle with a belt, and sometimes, but not often, charged with armorial bearings. On the head an open cylindrical helmet, flat at the top; the legs covered with hose of mail; and on the heels pryck spurs, having only one point, such as are represented on the great seals

of many of our early kings and barons. On the left arm a triangular shield, occasionally adorned with his arms, but more commonly plain. At the feet, a lion, or some other emblematical figure. Effigies of this kind are commonly on altar or table tombs, placed against the walls of churches, under elegant Gothic arches, richly adorned with foliage, and terminating, pinnacle fashion, in a single flower, or leaf.

The hands of these cross-legged knights are often joined, as in the act of prayer; sometimes employed in drawing their swords. When their shields are braced, that is, fixed on their arms, their right hands are laid by their sides, or over their bodies.

These cross-legged figures have very improperly obtained the title of knights templars; the absurdity of which must be immediately recognized, when it is recollected that the knights templars were a religious order, professing celibacy, and wearing a particular habit; whereas many of the persons represented cross legged on their tombs are known to have been married men, or persons who never professed any religious order. One instance we have in the monument of Robert, surnamed Courthose, brother to William Rufus, preserved in the cathedral of Gloucester, who is represented cross legged. Nor is the dress similar to the habit of the knights templars, a representation of which may be seen among the religious orders in this preface.

The true appellation for these figures seems to be Crusaders, or the knights of the crusade; as not only those who had actually served in the Holy Land were entitled to this monumental distinction, but it was also assumed by, and permitted to persons who had taken up the cross, or made the vow, to go thither, but died before the accomplishment; and frequently by those who in lieu of personal attendance had contributed a considerable sum of money towards the expences of that service; even ladies who had accompanied their husbands on these expeditions, were, it is said, distinguished by having their arms crossed over their breasts; but of this I have never been able to see a specimen. Children born in the Holy Land were represented on their monuments with

with their legs crossed. The church of Ayot St. Laurence, in Hertfordshire, furnished an instance of this kind in a monument called the Boy Templar, which was, as I have been told by persons who had seen it, the figure of a boy, of about twelve years of age, cased in knight's armour, and having his legs crossed. This church was, not many years ago, pulled down, and rebuilt on another spot. Some of these figures were of oak; that of Robert Courthose, before-mentioned, and another in St. Mary Overy's, in Southwark, are of that wood. See the latter, pl. III. fig. 2.

The age of these monuments may be pretty nearly guessed from the following data:—The crusades began anno 1096, and ended in 1291, by the Saracens retaking the last place in the possession of the Christians; but as many who were personally present at that siege might survive it fifty years, or even longer, genuine tombs of the crusaders might be erected as late as the middle of the fourteenth century. Although dates to these monuments are extremely rare. Hutchins in his History of Dorsetshire says, that in Horton church in that county, in the Hastings' aisle, was an effigy of a person cross legged, with an imperfect inscription, of which only remained, "Anno Domini ---------- nunc quiescit anima."

Covered monuments, that is, consisting of cumbent figures on altar tombs, under canopies or Testoons, were introduced into general use in the fourteenth century, and lasted till the fifteenth. Very few instances are to be found of these monuments in open air. One however we meet with in Newland churchyard, Gloucestershire, in the tomb of Jenkyn Worral; part of the irons which supported the Testoon was remaining in 1775, and is shewn in the engraving of this monument in the antiquarian repertory; as are also three female figures, of barbarous workmanship, lying on the ground near it, traditionally called his wife and daughters.

Another order of monuments were flat stones, even with the pavement, inlaid with engraved brass plates. Some of these are as old as the latter end of the thirteenth century. Among the

the oldest of this kind is that of Longspee, bishop of Salisbury, who died anno 1297. There are also some cross-legged figures engraved on brass, but they are by no means common. These, for the reasons before given, may be ascribed to the middle of the fourteenth century, unless, as has been suggested, they were put down in remembrance of, or in the places of statues of the same persons decayed, removed, or otherwise destroyed, and thus replaced by some of their descendants, desirous of perpetuating their family honours at a smaller expence than rebuilding or repairing these monuments. Not more than four or five of these engraved crusaders are known. A very fine one at Trumpington, in Cambridgeshire, is engraved in the repertory; and another in Acton church, Suffolk, in Mr. Gough's work.

From about the year 1380, these brass plates grew into common use; and till the fifteenth century, had commonly the inscription round the side of the stone.

On these monuments the deceased are represented commonly at full length, though there are some demi figures; both their hands are usually joined as in the act of prayer. They are dressed in habits that denote their profession; knights and gentlemen are delineated in armour, frequently bareheaded; the oldest distinguished by their picked toes, and rounded hair radiating from the centre of the head, a peculiarity also found on divers sculptured figures of the 13th century. Their heads are often resting on a helmet; some are represented with open head pieces, without bever or visor, the chaperon of mail, and offensively armed with sword and dagger.

Persons of the law, or in civil departments, are habited in fur gowns; their hair and beards according to the fashion of the times.

Bishops, abbots, and other dignified ecclesiastics, appear in pontificalibus, bearing their crosiers and pastoral staves in their left hands, their right elevated, and all the fingers, but the first two, closed as in the act of benediction. The parochial priests have sometimes the chalice, and are dressed in their rich altar vestments;

ments; these have often the emblems of the four Evangelists at the corners of the stone; sometimes from the mouths of these, and other figures, a label is projected, charged with some text or pious sentence.

In monuments of this sort, where man and wife are represented, the lady is placed on the left side of her husband, like him, with joined hands, as in a praying posture, their children frequently ranged in a rank beneath them; the boys under the father, the girls under the mother. Frequently the man has a lion at his feet, to denote generosity and courage, and the lady a dog, the emblem of fidelity.

After the time of Edward VI. or Queen Mary, the petition of *Orate pro Anima* is omitted; and towards the latter end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, or the beginning of that of King James I. the Gothic letter is changed for the Roman. On some of these monuments the coats of arms are enamelled, but these are chiefly of the 17th century. In several places we meet with figures engraved on stone, but these are in general very modern, chiefly of the 17th century. Several of this sort are found in Cornwall, particularly in the church of Fowey; and one is engraved on marble in a church in London, I think St. Helen's in Bishopsgate-street.

Mural monuments, that is, monuments supported by brackets against a wall, were not introduced into common use till the 16th century. Here the figures are represented kneeling and praying at a kind of desk, the man and wife frequently opposite each other, he on the right, she on the left of it; their children sometimes behind, and sometimes under their parents; the boys behind or under the father, the girls behind or under the mother. The figures are frequently represented in natural colours, and the architecture adorned with gilding.

About the latter end of the reign of King James I. a species of mixed architecture is to be found on these monuments, where we see Doric, Ionic, or Corinthian columns, supporting Gothic superstructures. Shortly after, Grecian architecture appears to

have been generally adopted in these erections; and in some late performances, amends seems to have been made to the heathen gods for turning them out of the Pantheon, by admitting them into our churches, particularly Westminster-Abbey.

Besides these general observations, much assistance may be drawn from the following circumstances:

Those monuments ornamented with circular and intersecting arches, are of greater antiquity than those having pointed ones, described by the intersection of two circles; and these are more ancient than those low pointed arches described from four centers; the latter being scarcely older than the reign of King Henry VII.

In figures of armed knights, those with the mail armour and cylindrical helmets flat at the top, are always older than those with plate armour and a head-piece, having a visor and bever. The radiating hair curling inwards towards the head, is a mark of a monument of the 13th or 14th century.

The female head-dress of that period was the tiara, or mitre-like cap. The Lady Fitzwalter, in Little Dunmow church, and a lady of —— Chidiok, in Christ-Church, Hants, both have this kind of coifeure.

A monument adorned with armorial bearings cannot be older than the latter end of the eleventh century, as arms were not used in England before that period, Mr. Gale says, not before the year 1147; Mr. Edmonson places the introduction of them before the commencement of the tenth century: the medium as stated above may perhaps be nearer the truth than either.

The first instance of quartering arms by any subject, was given by John Hastings, earl of Pembroke, following the example of King Edward III. therefore monuments adorned with different quarterings must be posterior to that period.

Monuments with supporters to coats of arms, mark them to have been erected since the time of King Richard II. that prince being the first who used them.

Till

Till the time of Henry III. the heads of the peers were not adorned with coronets. John of Eltham, second son of King Edward II. who died A. D. 1334, and is buried in Westminster Abbey, has on a coronet with leaves, and is the most ancient of its kind.

Where the arms of France contain only three *fleurs de lis*, or lilies, the monument has been erected since the reign of King Henry V.; before that time they were semée with those flowers.

Those monuments on which the heads of the cumbent figures are supported by two pillows, are prior to the 16th century; after that period, mats were represented as used for that purpose.

In estimating the age of monuments, we must not always judge of their æra from the time in which the person lived to whose honour they are erected, as in many instances they have been constructed long after their decease. Of this the tomb of King Athelstan in Malmsbury abbey, and that of St. Etheldred king of the West Saxons, in Winborne Minster, Dorsetshire, are striking examples; and if I am not much mistaken, something of that kind occurs in the cathedral of St. David, or Landaff, and likewise in the church of Chester-le-Street, where there is a series of monuments of the Lumley family, mostly made at the same time, and that long after th decease. To exalted characters a future age has perhaps done that honour which the envy of their contemporaries, or the poverty of their families denied. The cenotaphs of Shakespeare, Ben Jonson, and a variety of others, afford plenty of instances of such erections.

It is also probable that many of the ancient monuments in parochial churches are at present only cenotaphs; for it is said, that at the dissolution of the religious houses, most of their churches were granted to lay uses, on which the representatives of many of the great families there buried, removed the monuments of their ancestors to the nearest parish church, leaving the bodies in their original place of interment.

A particular kind of monuments, found in divers churches, require explanation. These are commonly tombs of bishops or other

other ecclesiastics, whereon are two figures of the person there deposited, one in full flesh and vigour, dressed in the ceremonial robes of his office, with mitre, crosier, and every other ensign of dignity, and beneath it, as in a coffin, another representing him a corpse, emaciated almost to a skeleton, and wrapped up in his winding-sheet. Instances of this sort of figures occur in the monuments of Archbishop Chicheley at Canterbury, and Bishop Fox at Salisbury. Some, as at Landaff, St. Mary Overy's, and that of Sir William Weston, the last prior of the order of St. John of Jerusalem, in Clerkenwell church, have only the emaciated figure. The common story told by the sexton or verger who shews the church where they are found is, that the person represented endeavoured, in imitation of Christ, to fast forty days, but died in the attempt, having reduced himself from the figure represented above, to the state shewn below; or that by a long sickness he was from a fine lusty man brought down to the skeleton there exhibited. Both these are in fact vulgar errors, calculated to astonish their holiday visitors; for by these sculptures it was only meant to inculcate the vanity and mutability of human felicity and greatness, and to remind the spectators that every man, however rich, powerful, dignified, adorned or handsome, must inevitably, some time or another, put on the disgusting appearance there represented.

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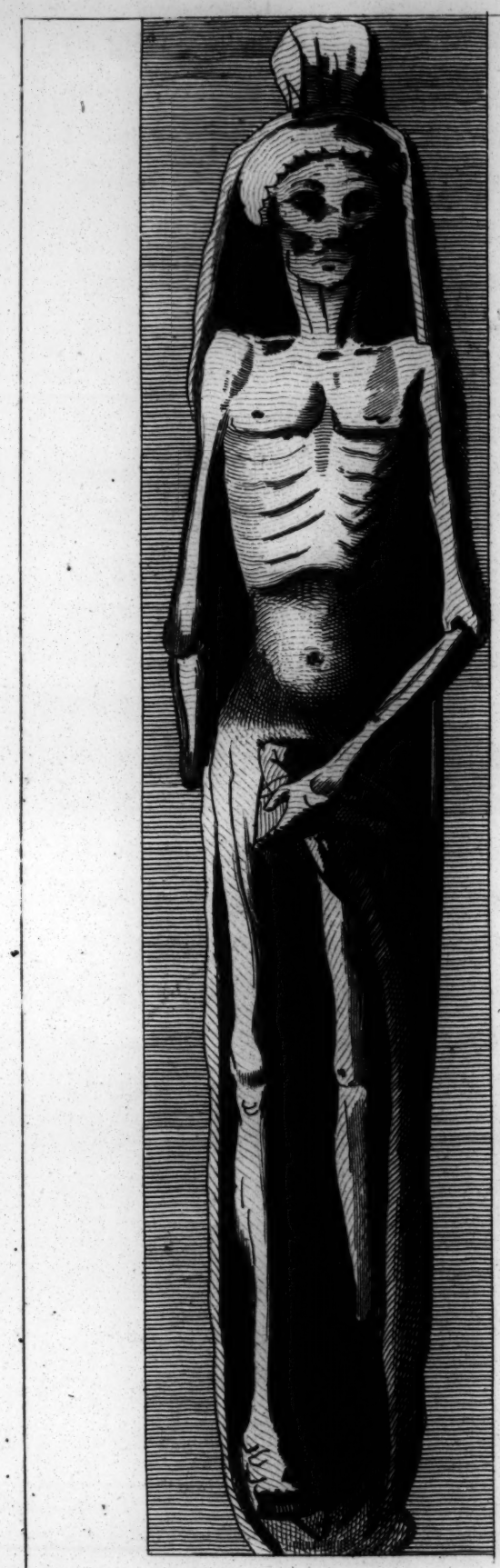


Fig. 1



Fig 2

Sparrow direx

Pub. 19 Sep. 1787 by S. Hooper

MONUMENTS. *Pl. III.*

BRITISH
12 JU 73
MUSEUM

Fig 1.

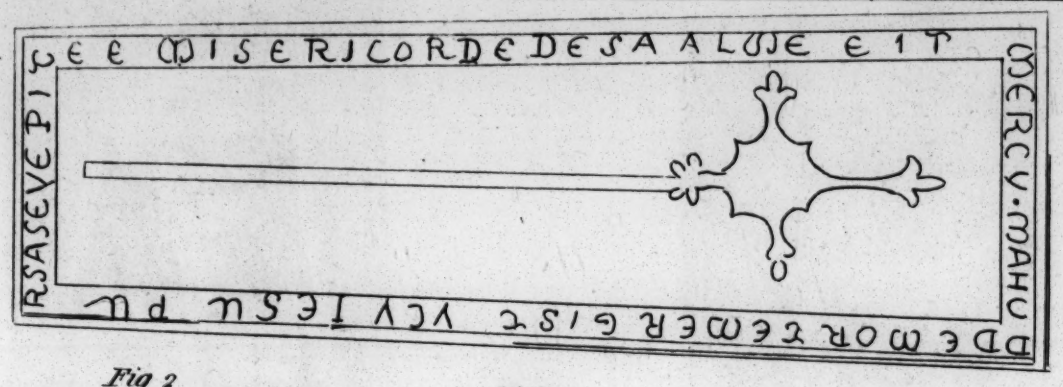


Fig 2

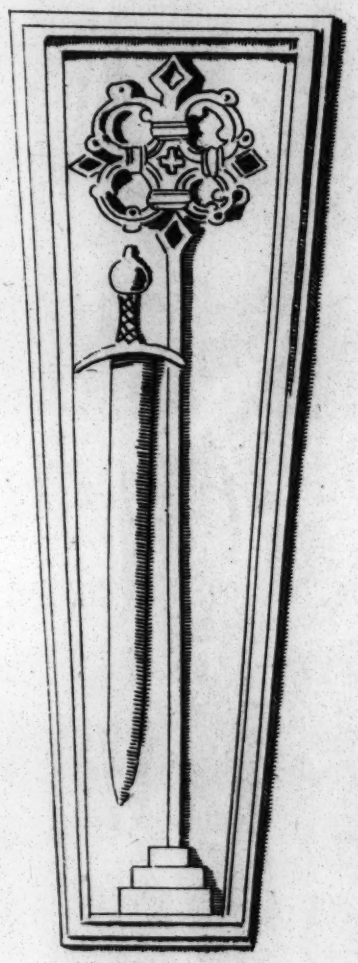


Fig. 3.

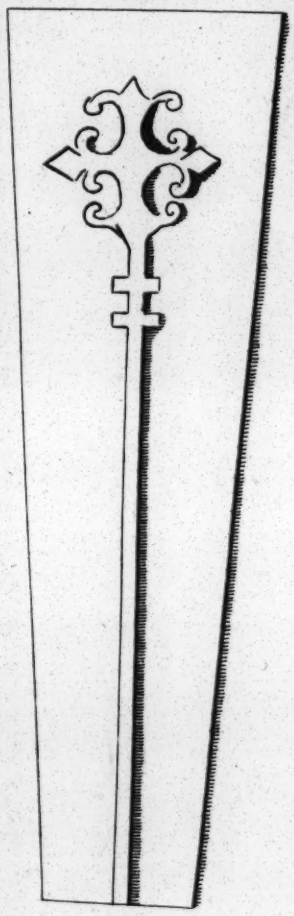


Fig. 4.

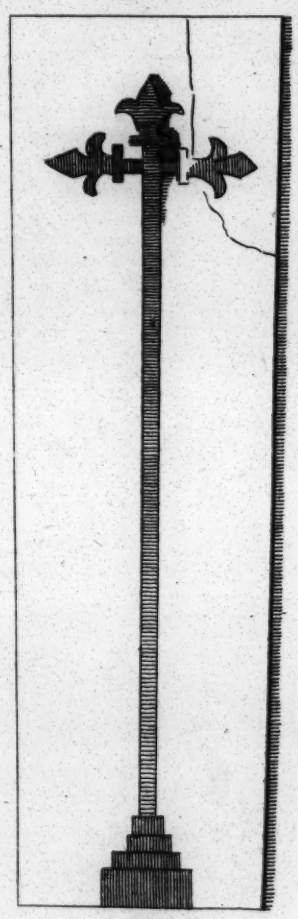
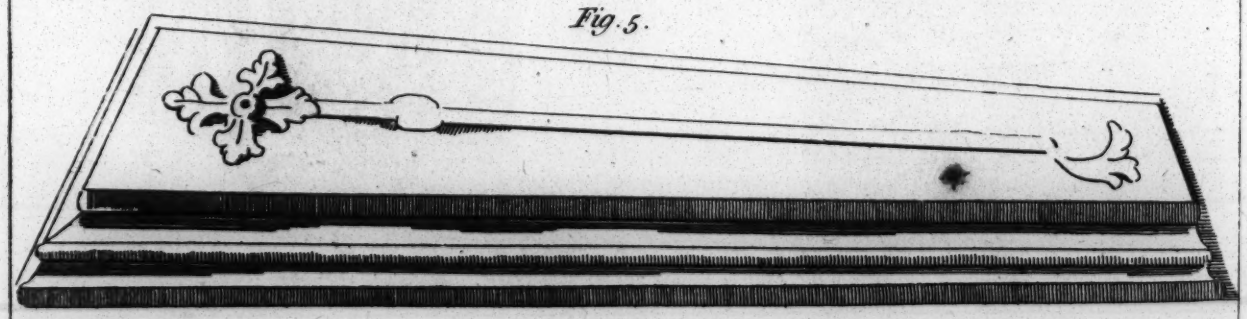


Fig. 5.



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Fig. 1.

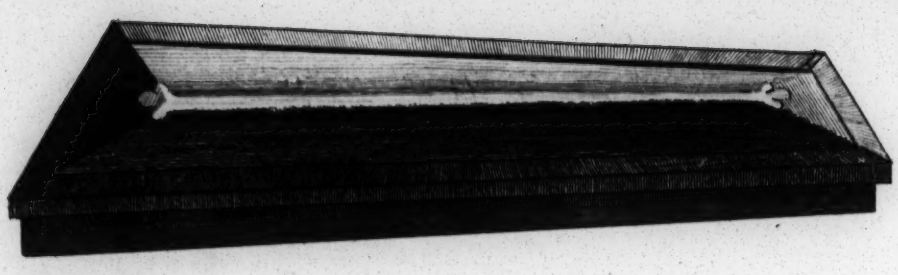


Fig. 2.

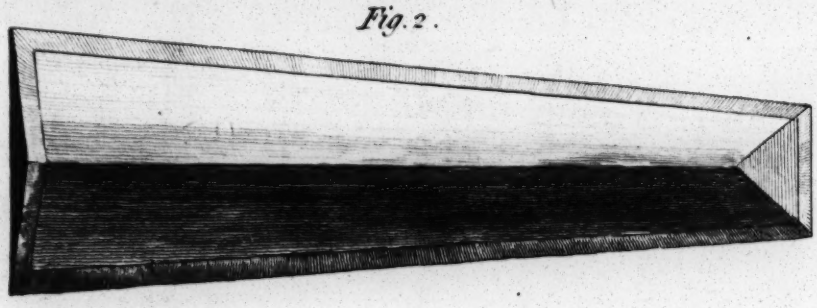


Fig. 3.



Pub.d 5. July 1787 by S. Hooper.

ANCIENT MONUMENTS. *Pl. I.*

DESCRIPTION OF THE PLATES

IN THE

ADDENDA TO THE PREFACE.

PLATE I.

FIG. 1. The monument of Lady Juga Baynard, in Little Dunmow, Essex; she founded the priory there in 1111.

Fig. 2. A coffin-shaped stone, here represented to illustrate the description.

Fig. 3. The monument of King William Rufus, in the cathedral of Winchester.

PLATE II.

Fig. 1. Grave-stone of Maud de Mortimer, in Tiltey Abbey, Essex.

Fig. 2. Grave-stone of the abbot of Bala Sala, in the Isle of Man.

Fig. 3. Another near the church-door in Pevensey chancel, Sussex.

Fig. 4. Another, Westham church, Sussex.

Fig. 5. Another in the cathedral at Winchester.

PLATE III.

Fig. 1. A skeleton-like figure in the church of St. Mary Overy's, in the Borough of Southwark, of which the usual story is told, *i. e.* that the person thereby represented, attempted to fast forty days.

Fig. 2. A crusader, carved in oak, in the same church.

PLATE IV.

Figure of an ancient knight clad in the hawberk, and armed with a battle-axe and roundel. It lyes on a table monument in the abbey church of Great Malvern, Worcestershire, and is supposed to represent a Richard Corbet, and to have been erected before the 14th century. It is broken off at the legs.

PLATE V.

Fig. 1. The figure of Joan, wife of Richard, son and heir to Robert Lord Poynings, from a brass plate in St. Helen's church, Bishopsgate Ward; the inscription adds, she died a virgin A. D. 1420.

Fig. 2. The representation of a woman in her winding-sheet, from a brass plate in Bodiam church, Sussex.

PLATE VI.

Edmund Flambert and Elizabeth his wife, from a brass plate in Harrow church: to which, according to Weaver, were the following inscriptions:

EDMUND FLAMBERD et ELISABETH, gisont icy
Dieu de salmes eyt mercy. Amen.

FLAMBARD EDMUNDUS jacet hic tellure sepultus
Conjux addetur ELISABETH et ſocietur.

PLATE VII.

Fig. 1. A figure of an ancient warrior in singular armour, from an impression of a brass plate, late in the collection of Gustavus Brander, Esq. name unknown. His hair is of the kind mentioned, as radiating from a center; his head rests on what seems to be a saddle.

Fig. 2.



Sparrow direx

MONUMENT. *Pl:IV.*


12 JU 73

Fig.1.

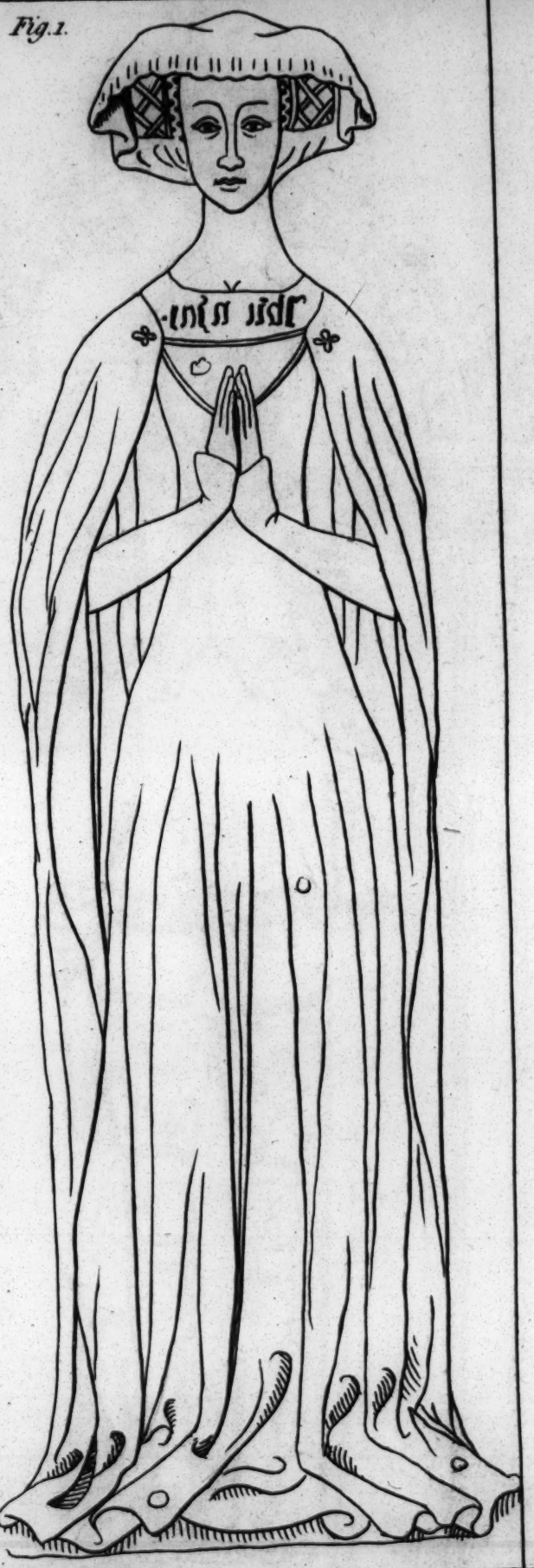


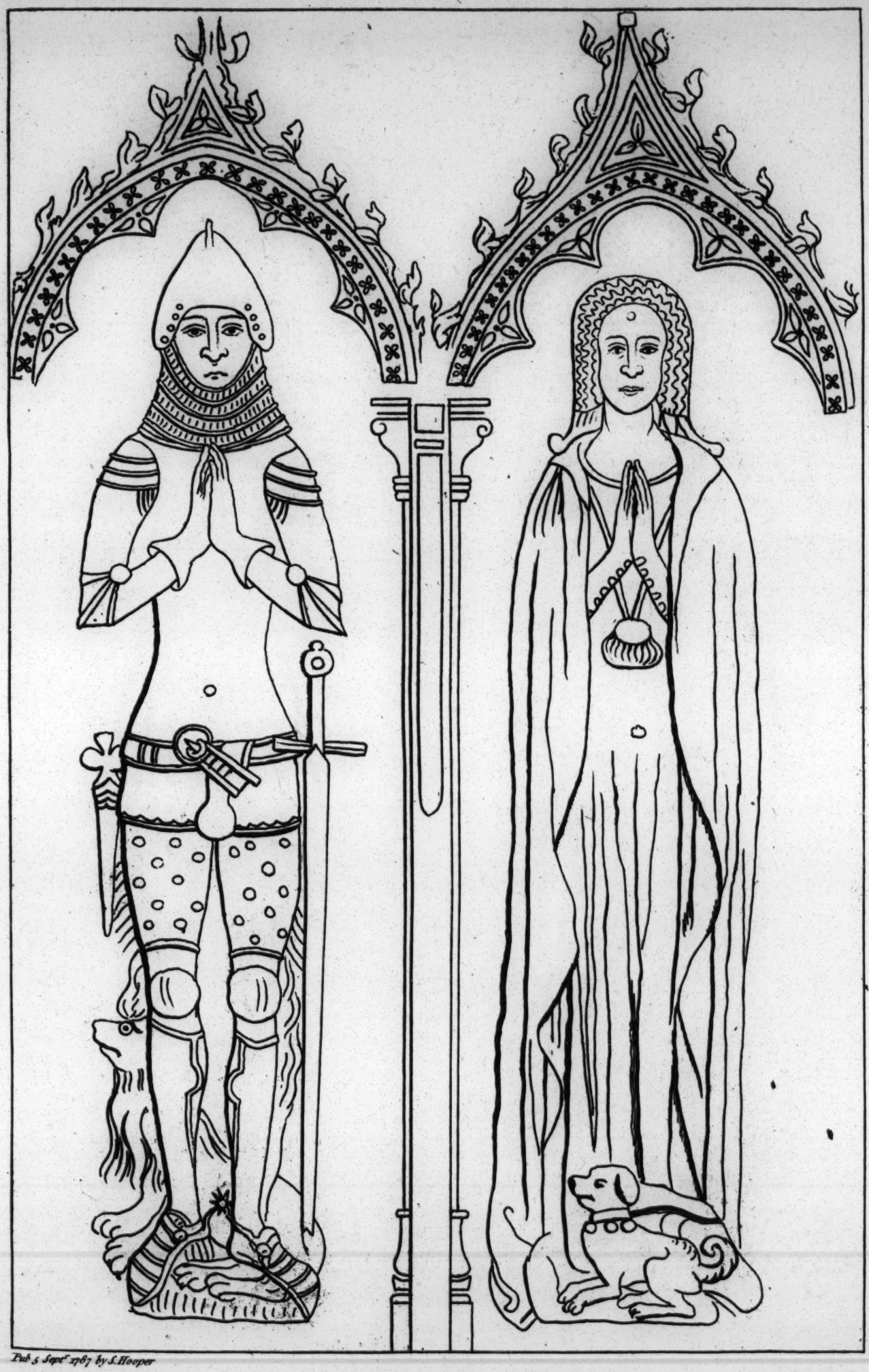
Fig.2.



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MONUMENTS. *Pl. V.*

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Pub.d 5 Sept.r 1787 by S. Hooper

MONUMENTS . *Pl. VI.*

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12 JU 73



Fig. 1.

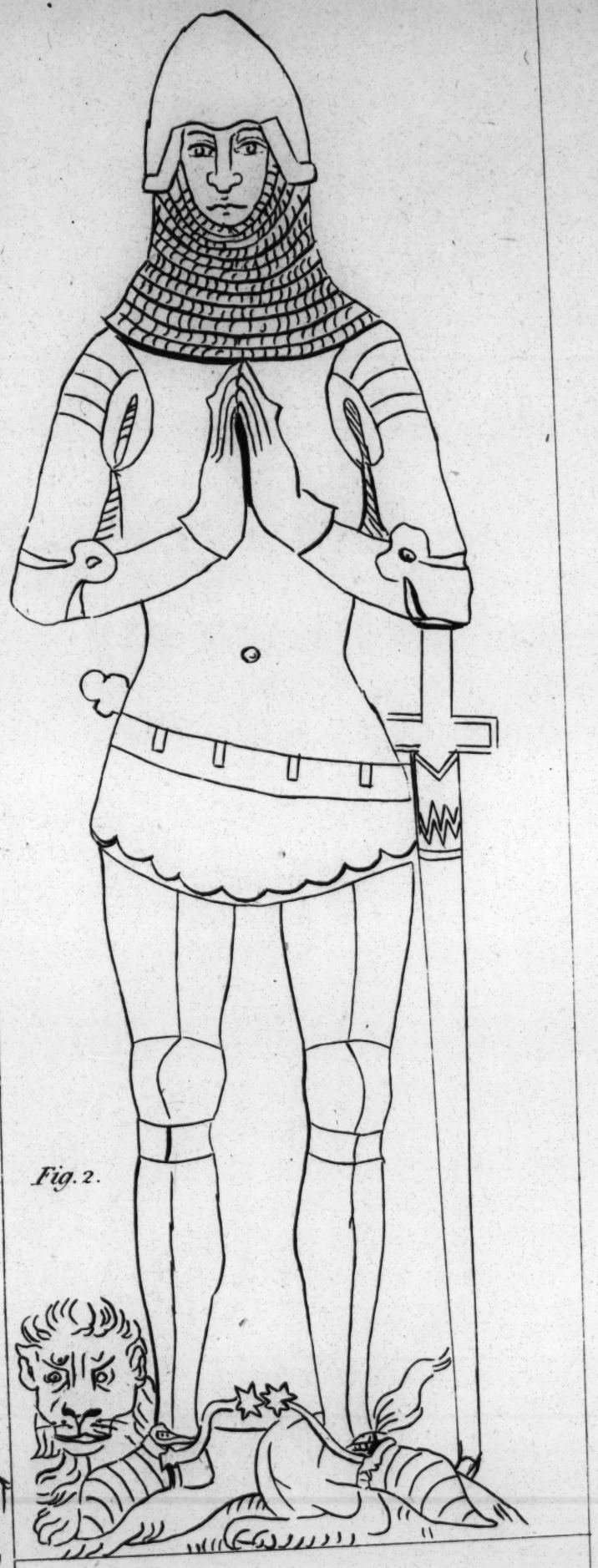


Fig. 2.

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MONUMENTS. *Pl.VII.*

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N.C.Goodnight sculp.

MONUMENTS. *PL.IX.*

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Fig. 1.

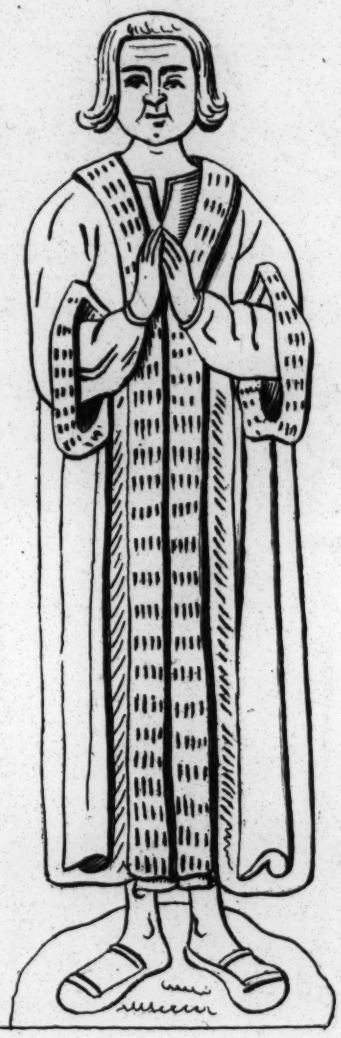


Fig. 2.



Pub. 7 Sept.r 1787 by S. Hooper

MONUMENTS *Pl. VIII.*

Fig. 2. John Flambard, from a brass plate in Harrow church, Middlesex: he has the following strange inscription:

Ion me do marmore numinis ordine flam tumulatur;
Barde quoque verbere stigis é funere hic tueatur.

PLATE VIII.

Fig. 1. From a brass plate in Nordiam church, Sussex, supposed to be one of the family of Tufton.

Fig. 2. A figure on a brass plate in Rodmarton church, Gloucestershire: under it is this inscription:

Hic Jaci Johis Edward qndam dns manerii de Rodmarton et verus patronus ejusdem, famosus apprentici in lege pitus qui obiit VII die Januarii A° Dni MCCCCLXI cuj ane appicatur De ame.

PLATE IX.

Fig. 1. John Wythines, Dean of Battle, in Sussex, from a brass plate in that church.

Out of his mouth issue two labels with these inscriptions:

On the right, } Tædet animam meam vitæ meæ.
On the left, } Cupio dissolvi et esse cum Christo.

Under his feet.—Hic jacet JOHANNIS WYTHINES in prænobili Civitate cestricæ natus, et in Academia Oxon Educatus, ibique Ænei Nasi Collegii socius, sacræ Theologiæ Doctor, academieq. Oxon pradcae vicę cancellarius, Hujusq. Ecclesia de Batel XLIJ Annos Decanus, qui obijt XVIII Die Martii, Anno Ætatis suæ 84.

Et salutis humanæ 1615.

On a plate below:

Vixi dum volui, volui dum Christe volebas
Nec mihi vita brevis, nec mihi longa fuit;
Vivo tibi moriorq. tibi, tibi Christe resurgam,
Mortuus et vivus sum maneoq. tuus.

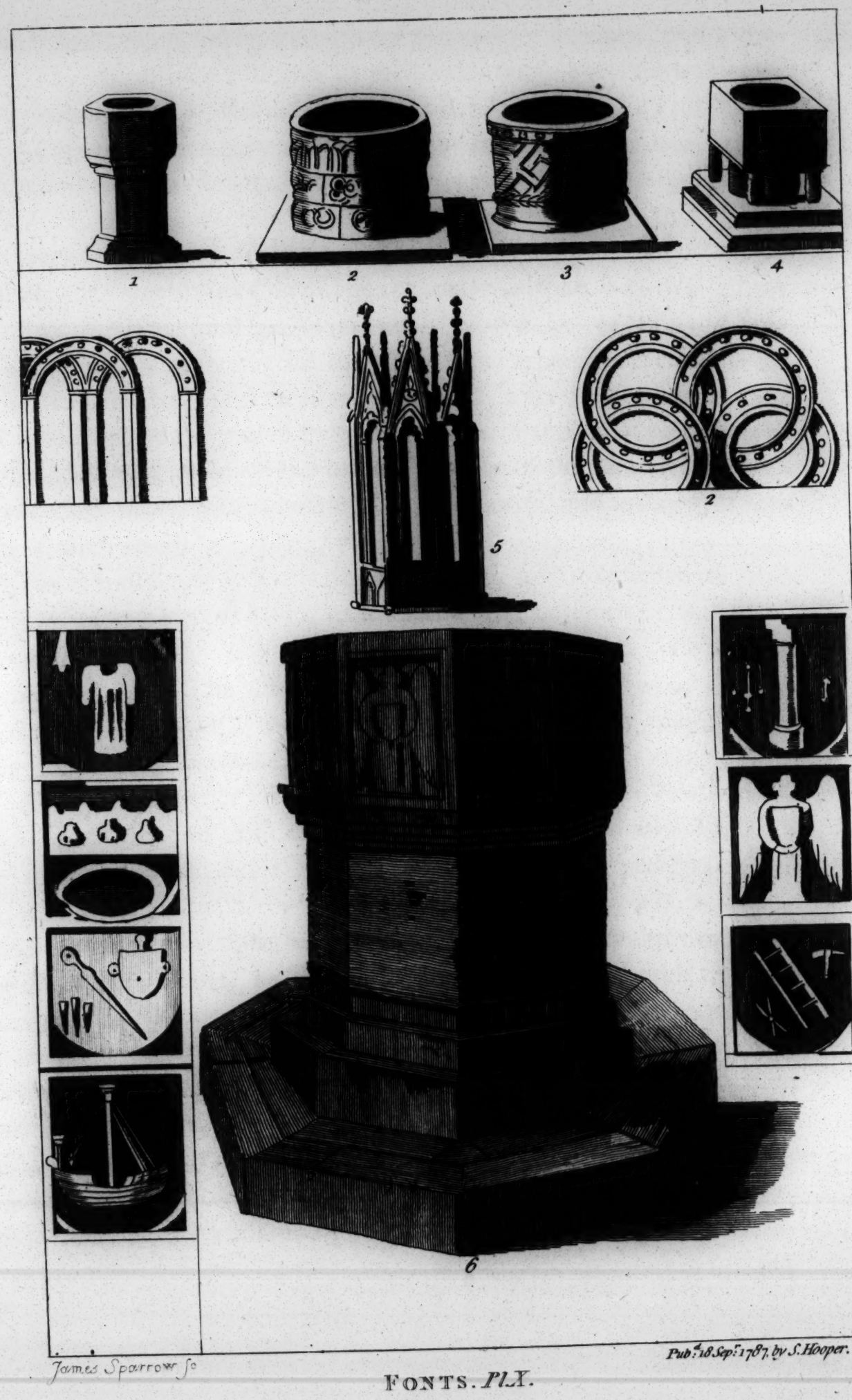
ADDENDA

TO THE

PREFACE.

FONTS.

BAPTISM was in primitive times administered only at Easter and Whitsuntide, unless in cases of necessity, and that chiefly to adults, and was performed in the open air, in fountains, lakes, rivers, and even the sea. The persons to be baptized were immersed three times, on the naming of the Three Persons of the Trinity. Sprinkling was, in some cases, allowed; but persons so baptized were incapable of holding any dignity in the church. It was long disputed whether infants were originally admitted to this ceremony, and it was often delayed a long time for different reasons. St. Ambrose was not baptized before he was elected Bishop of Melan, and some of the fathers not till near their death. It was thus performed at the time of Justin Martyr and Tertullian; for the latter speaks of persons going from the church to the water to be baptized. It continued to be administered in the open air till the time of the Saxons; for Paulinus, Archbishop of York, baptized a thousand persons at one time in the river Swale: for the due performance of that ceremony it was required the parties should be quite naked. Baptistries were afterwards



James Sparrow Sc

Pub.d 18 Sep.r 1787 by S. Hooper.

FONTS. *Pl.X.*

BRITISH
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wards built in churches, perhaps for the sake of decency, and sometimes by the bishop's licence in private houses; but this was however condemned by the ancient councils.

As baptism was only administered at stated periods, the baptistries and fonts, or basons holding the water, were very large, on account of the great concourse of people resorting to them. They commonly consisted of two apartments; the porch or ante-room, where the catechumens made the confession of their faith and renunciation of Satan; and an inner room, where the ceremony of immersion was performed: for this there were separate apartments for the different sexes; and there were anciently a set of deaconesses, part of whose business it was to strip the women. Baptistries, according to Durandus, continued till the 6th century out of the church; though soon after, some were admitted into the porch, and afterwards into the church itself.

These buildings were covered at the top, and supplied with fresh spring water by pipes laid into the sustaining columns or walls, and were let out by cocks in the form of stags' heads, lambs, and other animals. The different parts of the building were also frequently adorned with the images of saints and holy men, as examples to those baptized.

At first, baptistries were only erected in great cities, where bishops resided, who alone had the right of baptizing; but in after ages, according to Blackmore, they were set up in country parishes. The monks were at first forbidden to baptize, unless they had a secular priest with them; but they afterwards found means to evade this prohibition, at first, by officiating at some parish church that belonged to their monasteries; and, a little before the dissolution, fonts were set up in almost all the churches of the great monasteries, under pretence of baptizing the children of servants and labourers born within their franchises, deemed extra-parochial. Baptistries were long continued in Italy, at Pisa, Florence, Bononia, and Parma. Lassels says, at Florence there was, when he wrote, a public baptistry, where all the children of the town were baptized; and a build-

ing still remaining at the cathedral of Canterbury, is supposed by Mr. Gosling to have been a baptistry.

Infant baptism at length becoming universal, and immersion having been found in the northern countries inconvenient and dangerous in cold weather, aspersion or sprinkling was adopted in its stead; and as this required but little water, probably the fonts began to decrease from that time till they reached their present size. Sprinkling was, it is said, first introduced into England about the beginning of the ninth century; but it did not entirely supersede immersion: the choice of either being left to the parents, the ancient mode was sometimes retained; for it is recorded by William of Worcester, of King Etheldred, that at his baptism, A. D. 967, he bewrayed the baptistry. On this ominous occasion the archbishop Saint Dunstan, who performed the ceremony, exclaimed in a passion, "By God and his Mother, he will be a cowardly fellow." Pope Leo IV. directed that every church should have a stone font; and if stone could not be had, then a vessel of some other materials, but appropriated solely to that use.

By the canons of the church of England, every parish church is directed to have a font made of stone; because, says Durandus, the water which typified baptism in the wilderness flowed from a rock; or rather, because Christ is called a Corner-stone.

Among many ancient ceremonies, that of hallowing the font was performed on Easter and Whitsun eves; the reason for it is given in the following words by an anonymous author quoted by Strut:—"In the begynnyng of holy Chirch, all the children weren kept to be crystened on thys even, at the font hallowing; but now for enchesone that in sa long abydynge they might dye without Crystendome, therefore holi chirch ordeyneth to crysten at all the tymes of the year save 8 daies before these eveyns, the chylde shalle abyde till the font hallowing, if it maye be savely for perrill of deth, and ells not." See MS. Bib. Cot. Claudius, A. 2. quoted in Horda Angelcynnen, vol. iii. p. 174.

The ornaments on the fonts of the present establishment are not

not always religious subjects; we sometimes meet with huntings, grotesque figures, and the signs of the zodiac.

The antiquity of many fonts may be discovered by their style of architecture, particularly where there are representations of arches or buildings. Thus the ancient font at Winchester has a building with circular arches, and another at Alphington in Devonshire (engraved in the repertory) has both circular and intersecting arches. The font of St. Martin's church, Canterbury, is also very ancient; it is large and cylindrical; all the outsides covered with interwoven circles, ornamented with small pellets or balls, as is shewn in fig. 2; fig. 2. gives a general idea of the font itself. The first is undoubtedly of Saxon workmanship, the latter at least very early Norman.

Another font also cylindrical, and covered with bands, crossing each other lozenge fashion, is of very antique workmanship; the original is in Denton church, Sussex.

Another ancient style of ornaments on fonts, are the instruments of Christ's passion, such as the spear, nails, pincers, hammer, pillar, scourge, and crown of thorns. The font, fig. 6. in Felix-Stowe church, Suffolk, is so ornamented; it is octagonal, but one of its sides plain.

The two other fonts, fig. 1. and fig. 4, are more of modern workmanship; the first is in Tering church, and the other in that of Bishopstone, both in the county of Sussex.

The font, No. 5, in Luton church, Bedfordshire, is in form like a baptistry; it is nevertheless of no very remote antiquity, probably about the time of Henry VI.

DESCRIPTION OF THE FONTS

IN THE

ADDENDA TO THE PREFACE.

FIG. 1. Font in Tering church, Sussex.
Fig. 2. Font in St. Martin's church, Canterbury.
Fig. 3. Font in Denton church, Sussex.
Fig. 4. Font in Bishopstone, Sussex.
Fig. 5. Font in Luton church, Bedfordshire.
Fig. 6. Font in Felix Stowe church, Suffolk.

END OF THE ADDENDA TO THE PREFACE.

BRITISH MUSEUM 12 JU 73



BEDFORDSHIRE.

Is a ſmall inland county. When the Romans landed in Britain, 55 years before Chriſt, it was included in the diſtrict inhabited by the Catieuchlani, whoſe chief or governor, Caſſibelinus, headed the forces of the whole iſland againſt Cæſar, and the year following was totally defeated. In 310 the emperor Conſtantine divided Britain into five Roman provinces, when this county was included in the third diviſion, called Flavia Cæſarienſis, in which ſtate it continued 426 years, when the Romans quitted Britain. At the eſtabliſhment of the kingdom of Mercia (one of the diviſions of the Saxon Heptarchy) it was conſidered as a part of that kingdom; and ſo continued from 582 to 827, when with the other petty kingdoms of the iſland it became ſubject to the Weſt-Saxons under Egbert, and the whole was named England. In 889, Alfred held the ſovereignty, when England was divided into counties, hundreds and tythings, and Bedfordſhire firſt received its preſent name. It is in the Norfolk circuit, the province of Canterbury, and biſhoprick of Lincoln: its form is oval, being about 33 miles long, 16 broad, and nearly 73 in circumference; containing an area of about 323 ſquare miles, or 260,000 ſquare acres. It ſupplies 400 men to the national militia.

BEDFORDSHIRE.

Bedford, the county town, is ſituated north-weſt from London about 51½ miles. It contains 124 pariſhes, 58 vicarages, and 10 market towns, viz. Bedford, Ampthill, Biggleſwade, Dunſtable, Leighton, Beaudeſart, Luton, Potton, Shefford, Tuddington and Woburn, and 55 villages; the inhabitants by computation are 67,350, and it has 7,204 houſes that pay taxes: it is divided into 9 hundreds, ſends 4 members to parliament, and pays 7 parts of 513 of the land-tax*. Its principal river, the Ouſe, is navigable to Bedford, and divides the county into two parts, of which that to the ſouth is the moſt conſiderable. In its courſe, which is very meandering, it receives ſeveral ſmall ſtreams; the principal one is the Ivel, which takes its riſe in the ſouthern part of the county. The air is healthy, and the ſoil in general a deep clay. The north ſide of the Ouſe is fruitful and woody, but the ſouth ſide is leſs fertile; yet producing great quantities of wheat and barley, excellent in their kind, and woad for dyers. The ſoil yields plenty of fullers-earth for our woollen manufactory. The chief manufactories of the county are thread-lace and ſtraw ware.

In this county there are many remains of Roman, Saxon and Norman antiquities, but few Roman ſtations, viz. Sandy near Potton, and the Magiovinum of Antoninus, by others ſuppoſed to be the ancient Salenæ, containing 30 acres, where many urns, coins, &c. have been dug up. Another at Madining bowre, or Maiden-bower, one mile from Dunſtable, containing about 9 acres, which Camden ſuppoſes to have been a Roman ſtation, from the coins of the emperors having been frequently dug up there, and calls it Magintum. Leighton Beaudeſart is ſuppoſed to have been a Roman camp, and another is at Arleſey, near Shefford; and a Roman amphitheatre may be traced near Bradford Magna.

The Roman road, Icknield-ſtreet, croſſes this county, entering at Leighton Beaudeſart, from whence it paſſes Dunſtable, where it inclines northward over Warden hills to Baldock in Hertfordſhire. The Watling-ſtreet enters this county near Luton from St. Albans, paſſes a little north of Dunſtable, where it croſſes the Icknield-ſtreet, and from thence to Stoney-Stratford in Buckinghamſhire. A Roman road alſo enters near Potton, paſſes on to Sandy, and from thence to Bedford, where it croſſes the Ouſe, and proceeds to Newport Pagnell in Buckinghamſhire.

ANTIQUITIES in this COUNTY worthy notice.

Bedford Bridge and Priory
Chickſand Abbey, near Shefford
Dunſtable Priory, near Luton
Eaton Park Houſe or Eaton Bray
Five Knolls, near Dunſtable
Newnham Priory, near Bedford
Northill Church, 3 miles from Biggleſwade
Summeris Tower, near Luton
Warden Abbey, near Shefford
Woborn Abbey
Woodhill Caſtle, or Odhill Caſtle, near Harewood.

BRITISH MUSEUM 12 JU 73

* The number of members of parliament for England is 513, and the land-tax is divided into the same number, of which this county pays 7.

BRITISH MUSEUM
12 JU 73



Bedford Bridge Pl.I.

Published 1 May 1783. by S.Hooper.

THE

ANTIQUITIES

OF

ENGLAND AND WALES.

BEDFORD BRIDGE. (PLATE I.)

This bridge stands upon the river Ouse, which runs through, and almost equally divides the town. History is silent both as to the founder and the time of its construction. Tradition says it was erected with part of the materials of the castle demolished by King Henry III. in the year 1224. It is highly probable this was built in the place of a much older bridge; as by an extract from Roger Hoveden's Chronicle, in Leland's Collectanea, it appears, that the part of the town, on the southern bank of the river, was built by Edward the elder, in the year 912. It seems, therefore, almost impossible the inhabitants could so long have wanted this necessary means of communication between the north and south parts of the town.

The castle was demolished on the following occasion: King John, having taken it from William de Beachamp, bestowed it on Falco de Brent, or Breant, raised by his favour from a private soldier to great riches and power. This man having committed divers acts of violence on the neighbouring inhabitants, and dilapidated several religious houses and churches, particularly that of St. Paul, for the purpose of repairing and strengthening

his castle, was, by Martin Patershul, Thomas de Multon, and Henry Braybrooke, judges, then sitting at Dunstable, fined in the sum of three thousand pounds.

Falco being greatly enraged thereat, and considering it as an injury done him, sent his brother to seize these judges, and bring them prisoners to Bedford. They, apprized of his intention, fled; but Braybrooke, being taken, was carried to the castle, where he suffered a thousand insults and indignities.

The king, highly incensed at this audacious violation of the laws, and determined to bring the offenders to exemplary punishment, laid siege to the castle, which after a resistance of sixty days, surrendered at discretion. He then caused the governor, William de Breant, brother to Falco, with twenty-four knights, and eighty soldiers, to be hanged, and the fortifications to be levelled with the ground. The site and dwelling-house he returned to William de Beauchamp; and gave the stones, some to the canons of Newenham and Chadwell; some to the church of St. Paul; and, according to tradition, applied the remainder to the building of the bridge. At this siege the king was assisted by Stephen, archbishop of Canterbury, who brought him a considerable and well-appointed body of men. Falco, taking refuge in a church at Coventry, abjured the realm; or, as some writers say, was with his wife and child, shortly after banished.

Camden quotes the following curious account of the siege from a writer cotemporary with the facts described:

"On the east side were one petrary and two mangonels daily applying upon the tower. On the west two mangonels battering the old tower; as also one upon the south, and another upon the north part, which beat down two passages through the walls that were next them. Besides these, there were two machines contrived of wood, so as to be higher than the castle and tower, erected for the purpose of the balistarii, or gunners and watchmen; they had several machines, wherein the gunners and slingers lay in ambush; also there was moreover another machine, called cattus, under which the diggers who were employed to undermine the walls of the

BRITISH MUSEUM
12 JUL 73



D.L. Sculp.

BEDFORD BRIDGE.

Pub.d by S. Hooper 10 Dec.r 1783.

the tower and castle came in and out. The castle was taken by four assaults; in the first was taken the barbican; in the second the outer ballia; at the third attack, the wall by the tower was thrown down by the miners; where with great danger they possessed themselves of the inner ballia; through a chink, at the fourth assault, the miners set fire to the tower, so that the smoke burst out, and the tower itself was cloven to that degree, as to shew visibly some broad chinks; whereupon the enemy surrendered."

This bridge is one hundred and sixteen yards in length, four and a half broad, and has a parapet three feet and a half high; this, it is said, was erected in the reign of Queen Mary, out of the ruins of St. Dunstan's church, which stood on the south side of the bridge. It has seven arches, and near the centre were two gate-houses; that on the north being used for a prison, and that on the south served as a storehouse for the arms and ammunition of the troops quartered here. These gate-houses were taken down in the year 1765, and six lamps set up on posts at proper distances. The bridge is kept in repair by the corporation, who have a very considerable estate. In this view, taken in 1761, only the north gate-house appears.

(PLATE II.)

In this view, both the gate-houses formerly standing on this bridge are shewn. In the former plate, at the point from whence it was taken, which was chosen as the most picturesque, only one of them could be seen. As these buildings have been taken down, it has been intimated to the author, that a view, in which they might both appear, would be agreeable to several curious persons, as more particularly preserving the appearance of this ancient bridge. In obedience to this opinion, he here presents a second view; happy to have it in his power to oblige the encouragers of his work. This drawing was made in the year 1760.

BERKSHIRE.

BUSTLESHAM, BYSHAM MONTAGUE, Or, BYSHAM MONASTERY.

Robert de Ferrariis, in the reign of King Stephen, gave the manor of Bustlesham to the Templars, who thereupon made here a preceptory for the knights of that order. Upon their dissolution in the reign of King Edw. II. this seems not to have passed with the greatest part of their estates to the knights of St. John of Jerusalem; for they had before granted it away in fee to Hugh de Spencer, jun. Afterwards it came to William Montacute, earl of Salisbury, who, A. D. 1338, built a priory here for canons of the order of St. Augustine, which was endowed 26 Henry VIII. with 285*l.* 11*s.* ob per ann. Dugdale; 327*l.* 4*s.* 6*d.* Speed.

The prior and convent having surrendered this monastery July 5, 1536, King Henry VIII. in the year following, refounded and more amply endowed it with lands of the late dissolved abbey of Chertsey, and the priories of Cardigan, Bethkelert, Ankerwike, Little Marlo, Medmenham, &c. to the value of 661*l.* 14*s.* 9*d.* per ann. for the maintenance of an abbot, who was to have the privilege of wearing a mitre, and thirteen Benedictine monks. But this new abbey was of short continuance, being surrendered 30 Henry VIII. June 19, 1539, three years after its institution.

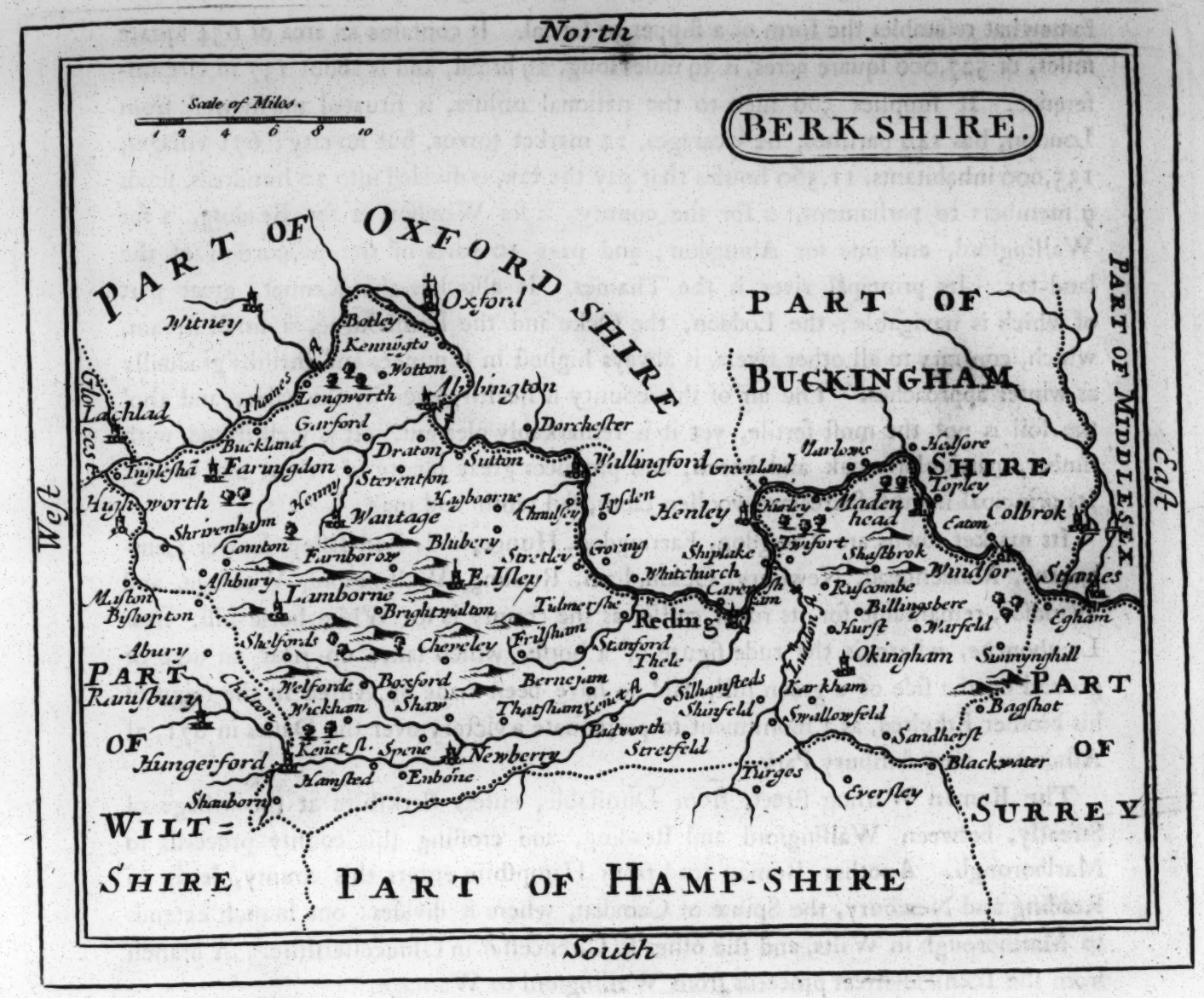
The site of it was granted 7 Edward VI. to Sir Edward Hoby, in whose descendants it continued till the year 1768, when the last of that name dying, bequeathed it to John Mill, Esq. the present proprietor, who by act of parliament took upon him the name of Hoby. In the charter of the first foundation, this monastery is said to be dedicated to our Lord Jesus Christ, and the Blessed Virgin his Mother; and in that of the second foundation to the Blessed Virgin Mary; yet in the time of Richard II. and in both the surrenders, it is styled the conventual church of the Holy



BYSHAM MONASTERY.

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12 JUL 73



BERKSHIRE

Is an inland county, that contained the whole of that Britiſh principality inhabited by the Atrebatii, who are ſuppoſed to have been originally from Gaul. When Conſtantine divided the iſland into Roman provinces in 310, this principality was included in Britannia Prima, the firſt diviſion, whoſe boundaries were the Engliſh Channel on the ſouth, and the Thames and Severn on the north. On the Romans quitting the iſland, and civil diſſentions enabling the Saxons to eſtabliſh the Heptarchy, this part of the country was included in the kingdom of the Weſt Saxons, which commenced in 519, and continued till 828, when it became the only remaining ſovereignty, having conquered all the others, and they were incorporated by the name of England, under Egbert; whoſe grandſon, Alfred, a native of Wantage in this county, in 889 divided his kingdom into counties, hundreds and pariſhes, and at that time this diviſion firſt received its appellation of Berkſhire, or Berocſhire. At preſent it is in the Oxford circuit, the province of Canterbury, and dioceſe of Saliſbury. The general ſhape of it

ſomewhat reſembles the form of a ſlipper or ſandal. It contains an area of 654 ſquare miles, or 527,000 ſquare acres, is 39 miles long, 29 broad, and is about 137 in circumference. It ſupplies 560 men to the national militia, is ſituated north-weſt from London, has 140 pariſhes, 62 vicarages, 12 market towns, but no city: 671 villages, 135,000 inhabitants, 11,560 houſes that pay the tax, is divided into 20 hundreds, ſends 9 members to parliament, 2 for the county, 2 for Windſor, 2 for Reading, 2 for Wallingford, and one for Abingdon; and pays 10 parts of the proportion of the land-tax. Its principal river is the Thames. It alſo has the Kennet, great part of which is navigable; the Loddon, the Ocke and the Lambourne, a ſmall ſtream, which, contrary to all other rivers, is always higheſt in ſummer, and ſhrinks gradually as winter approaches. The air of this county is healthy even in the vales; and tho' the ſoil is not the moſt fertile, yet it is remarkably pleaſant. It is well ſtored with timber, particularly oak and beech, and produces great plenty of wheat and barley. Its principal manufactures are woollen cloth, fail cloth and malt.

Its market towns are Abingdon, Farringdon, Hungerford, Eaſt Ilſley, Lower Lambourne, Maidenhead, Newbury, Ockingham, Reading, Wallingford, Wantage, and Windſor, remarkable for its royal caſtle, as the county is for White-horſe-hill, near Lambourne, where is the rude figure of a horſe, which takes up near an acre of ground on the ſide of a green hill, ſaid to have been made by Alfred in the reign of his brother Ethelred, as a monument to perpetuate a victory over the Danes in 871, at Aſhdown, now Aſhbury Park.

The Roman Watling ſtreet, from Dunſtable, enters Berkſhire at the village of Streatly, between Wallingford and Reading, and croſſing this county proceeds to Marlborough. Another Roman road from Hampſhire enters this county, leads to Reading and Newbury, the Spinæ of Camden, where it divides: one branch extends to Marlborough in Wilts, and the other to Cirenceſter in Glouceſterſhire. A branch from the Icknield-ſtreet proceeds from Wallingford to Wantage.

There is a Roman camp near Wantage on the brow of a hill, of a quadrangular form; there are other remains of encampments at Eaſt Hampſtead, near Ockingham, near White-horſe-hill, near Puſey, and upon Sinodun-hill, near Wallingford. At Lawrence Waltham is a Roman fort, and near Denchworth is Cherbury caſtle, a fortreſs of Canute. Uffington caſtle, near White-horſe-hill, is ſuppoſed to be Daniſh, and near it is Dragon-hill, ſuppoſed to be the burying-place of Uter Pendragon, a Britiſh prince. Near White-horſe-hill are the remains of a funeral monument of a Daniſh chief ſlain at Aſhdown by Alfred.

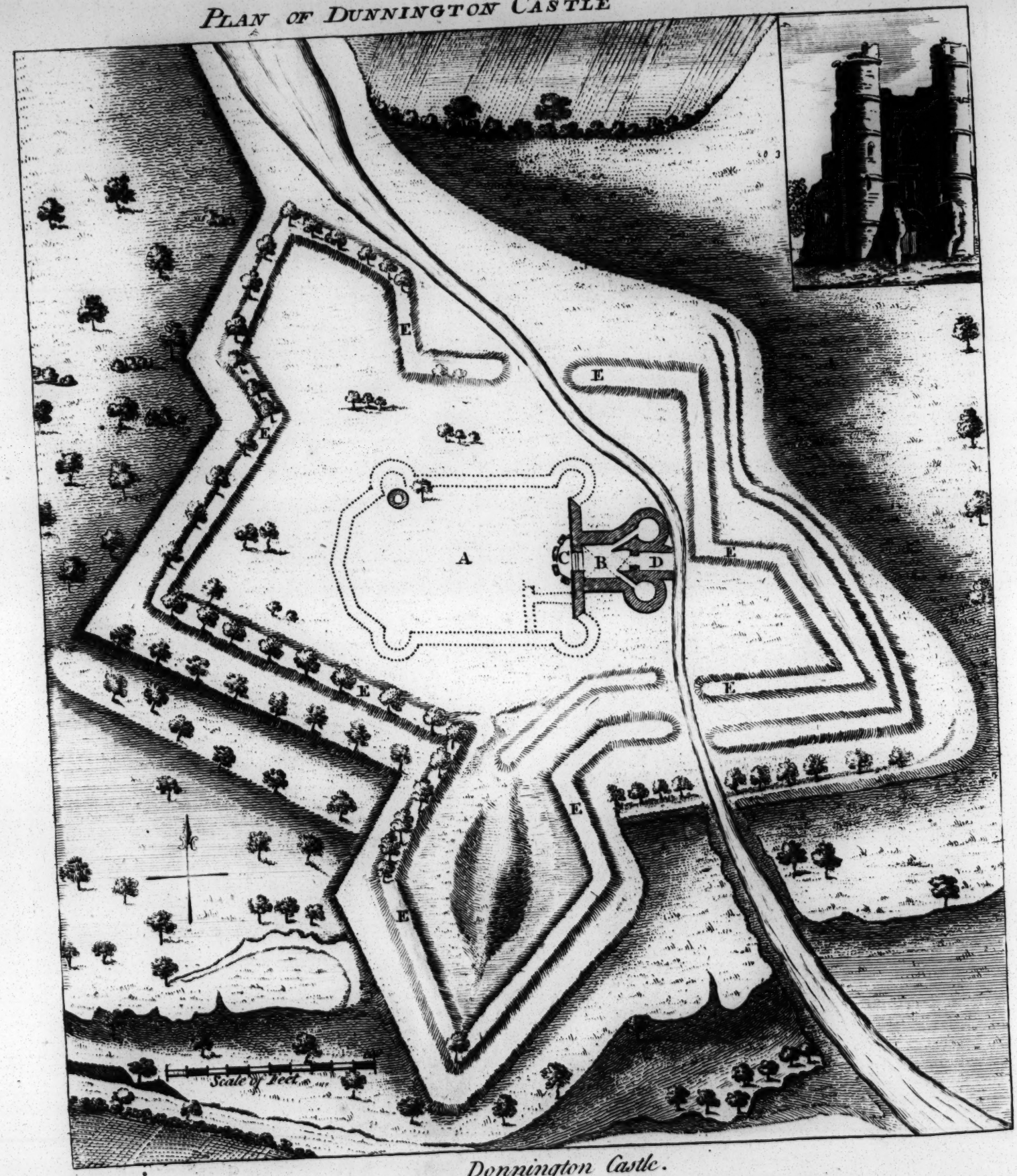
ANTIQUITIES in this COUNTY worthy notice.

Abingdon Church and Abbey
Aldworth Caſtle, near Eaſt Ilſley
Byſham Monaſtery
Dunnington Caſtle
Lambourne Church
Reading Abbey
Sunning Chapel
Wallingford Church and Caſtle
Windſor Caſtle beggars all deſcription for ſituation, &c.

BRITISH MUSEUM 12 JU 73

BRITISH
12 JU 73
MUSEUM

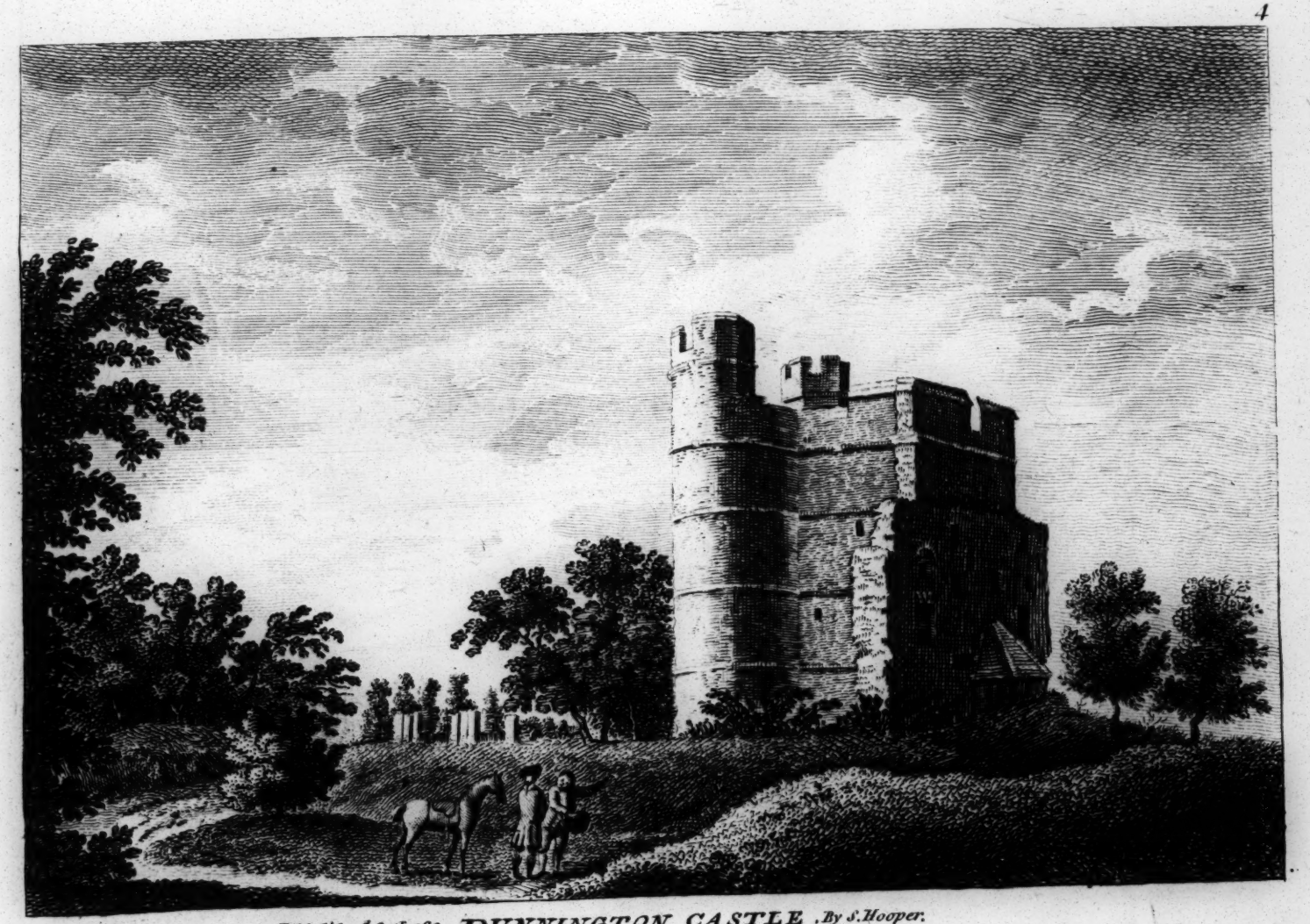
Plan of Dunnington Castle



Donnington Castle.

A. *The Castle in Ruins*
B. *The entrance with the Towers standing*
C. *A Drinking Room erected by the Proprietor*
D. *Another Porch open at Top*
E. *Temporary Works thrown up in the Civil Wars*
* *Between the vaulted Passage* B. *&* *Drinking Room* C. *the Steps is a Vacancy for a Port Cullis*

BRITISH
12JU73
MUSEUM



Publish'd 3d Oct.r 1783, DUNNINGTON CASTLE. By S. Hooper.

Holy Trinity. At the dissolution a pension of 66*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* was assigned to abbot Cowdrey, who had, as I find (says Browne Willis) either voided the same by death or preferment before the year 1553; when only these following pensions remained in charge, viz. Will Walker, 7*l.* John Myllest, Will Roke, Will Byggs, John Rolfe, Edward Stephenson, 5*l.* each: besides 14*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* in annuities.

Hither with the licence of Henry V. the bones of the founder, John Montacute, earl of Salisbury, were removed by Maud his widow from the abbey of Cirencester; and here also, according to Dugdale's Baronage, several others of that family lie interred.

This abbey stands in the easternmost part of the county, near the banks of the Thames, about two miles north of the road leading from Maidenhead to Henley. Tradition says, Queen Elizabeth once resided here. Since that time the house has been greatly repaired and modernized, and has served as a mansion for several respectable families. This view was drawn anno 1760.

DUNNINGTON CASTLE.

THIS castle stands on an eminence, about a mile from Newbury, half a mile from Spinham Sands (the ancient Spina of Antoninus) and a small distance from the little village of Dunnington; it is north of all these places, and not far from the rivulet of Lambourne.

By a manuscript in the Cotton library, it appears that, in the time of Edward II. it belonged to Walter Abberbury, son and heir of Thomas Abberbury, who gave the king C. s. for it; and towards the latter part of the reign of King Richard II. Sir Richard Atterbury or Abberbury, who was a favourite of that king, obtained a licence to rebuild it; from him it descended to his son Richard, of whom, according to Urry, it was purchased by that prince of English poets Geoffry Chaucer.

Hither, about the year 1397, in the seventieth year of his age, that bard retired, in order to taste the sweets of contempla-

tion and rural quiet, having spent the greatest part of his life in the hurry of business and intrigues of a court; during which time he had severely experienced the mutability of fortune. Here he spent the last two or three years of his life, in a felicity he had not before known; but on the death of the king, going to court, to solicit the continuation of some of his grants, he sickened, and died in London, in the year 1400.

Bishop Gibson, in his edition of Camden says, "Here was an oak standing till within these few years, commonly called Chaucer's oak; under which he is said to have penned many of his famous poems;" and Mr. Urry, relating the above circumstance, adds, "Mr. Evelyn gives a particular account of this tree;" and says, there were three of them planted by Chaucer; the king's oak, the queen's oak, and Chaucer's oak. The first of these traditions, is, in all likelihood, a mistake; as most, if not all, of Chaucer's poems were written before he retired to this place: but the latter (namely, that he studied under an oak of his own planting at Dunnington) is an absolute impossibility, seeing that he was not in possession of this estate above three years."

His son, Thomas Chaucer, who had been chief butler to King Richard II. and several times ambassador to France, succeeded to the castle; with his daughter Alice, it went to her third husband, William de la Pole, first earl, and afterwards duke of Suffolk, who resided chiefly here and at Ewlham. This lord, abusing the power he had over that weak prince Henry VI. enraged the commons so much, that they procured his banishment; and the partizans of the duke of York, dreading his return, seized him in Dover road, whilst on his passage, and cut off his head on the side of a cockboat. His body was buried at the Chartreuse at Hull. At his decease the castle came to his son John, and from him descended to Edmund de la Pole, duke of Suffolk, the last of that name; who engaging in treasonable practices against Henry VII. was executed, and his estates consequently escheated to the crown; where Dunnington remained, at least, till the 37th of Henry VIII. as appears by an act of parliament then passed,

whereby

whereby that king was authorized to erect his castle of Dunnington, with three other places therein named, into as many honours; and to annex to them such lands as he should think proper. It afterwards came into the possession of Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, probably by the grant of Henry VIII. and was entire in Camden's time, who thus describes it: "A small, but very neat castle, seated on the browe of a woody hill, having a fine prospect and windows on all sides very lightsome."

In the reign of King James I. it belonged to a family of the name of Packer; and in the time of the civil wars, was owned by Mr. John Packer; when it was fortified as a garrison for the king, and the government entrusted to Colonel Boys, being a post of great importance, commanding the high road leading from the west to London, and that from Oxford to Newbury.

During these troubles it was twice besieged: once on the 31st of July, 1644, by Lieutenant General Middleton, who was repulsed with the loss of one colonel, eight captains, one serjeant-major, and many inferior officers and soldiers; and again the 27th of September, in the same year, by Colonel Horton, who raising a battery against it, at the foot of a hill near Newbury, fired upwards of a thousand shot, by which he demolished three of the towers, and a part of the wall. During this attack, the governor, in a salley, beat the enemy out of their trenches, and killed a lieutenant-colonel and the chief engineer, with many private men. At length, after a siege of nineteen days, the place was relieved by the king; who, at Newbury, rewarded the governor with the honour of knighthood.

After the second battle of Newbury, the king retiring towards Oxford in the night, left his heavy baggage, ammunition and artillery here. The place was summoned by the parliamentary generals, who threatened, that if it was not surrendered, they would not leave one stone upon another. To this Sir John Boys returned no other answer than, "That he was not bound to repair it, but however would, by God's help, keep the ground afterwards." This was the favourable moment for totally ruining

the

the king's affairs; but the earl of Manchester and Sir William Waller suffered it to escape; for, either on account of a disagreement between them, or for some other reason, nothing farther was done; and the king, a few days afterwards, came unexpectedly, at the head of a body of horse, and escorted his artillery and baggage to Oxford.

After the civil war was over, Mr. Packer pulled down the ruinous parts of the building, and with the materials erected the house standing under it, now in the occupation of Mark Basket, Esq. The castle at present belongs to Doctor Hartley, who married the heiress of the name of Packer.

From an accurate plan, made by an officer who resides near the spot, I am enabled to give not only the figure and dimensions of the castle when entire, but also to describe the works thrown up in the civil wars; all which he carefully traced out, amongst the bushes and briars with which they are at present overgrown.

The walls of this castle nearly fronted the four cardinal points of the compass; having the north and south sides perpendicular on its east end. These sides were consequently parallel. Its west end terminated in a semi-octagon, inscribed in the half of a long oval. It was defended by four round towers; two on the angles, formed by the concurrence of the north and south sides with the east end; and two others, placed on the angles formed by the junction of the same sides with the semi-polygon. The length of the east end, including the towers, was eighty-five feet; and the extent, from east to west, reckoning the thickness of the walls, one hundred and twenty feet. Near the north-west tower was a well; and in the south-east angle a square building, whose sides measured twenty-four feet. Two of these sides were formed by the exterior wall, and enclosed the tower.

The entrance was at the east end, through a stone gate-house, having a passage forty feet long; at the end of which is remaining the place for the portcullis. It is flanked by two round towers: that on the south has a stair-case. This gate is now standing, and is shewn in the view. In it is held the manor-court. On its west

BRITISH
12 JU 73
MUSEUM



T. Bonnor sculp. direxit

ST. GEORGE's CHAPEL, WINDSOR.

Published the 9th of June 1784 by S. Hooper.

west side a small drinking room has lately been added by the proprietor. Round about, and almost occupying the whole eminence, are the modern works, thrown up for the defence of the castle. These explain and justify the speech of Sir John Boys; which otherwise, considering its state at that time, would have been a mere rodomontade. Their shape is that of an irregular pentagon; the greatest angle fronting the south, on which was a very capacious bastion. There was another, but smaller, on the north-west angle; and the north-east was defended by a demi-bastion, placed on its southern extremity. From the gorge of the great southern bastion, to the salient angle of the demi-bastion, ran a double, and from thence to the north-east angle of the pentagon, a triple rampart. The road passed through these works, close to the gate of the castle. This view was taken in the year 1768.

ST. GEORGE'S CHAPEL, WINDSOR.

THIS view shews the chapel dedicated to St. George, the houses of the poor knights, and at a distance, the round tower.

Tanner, in his Notitia Monastica, gives the following history of this chapel.

"In the castle here was an old free chapel, dedicated to King Edward the Confessor, in which King Henry I. placed eight secular priests, who seem never to have been incorporated nor endowed with lands, but to have been maintained by pensions yearly paid out of the king's exchequer. And in the park here was, in the beginning of King Edward the Second's reign, a royal chapel for thirteen chaplains and four clerks, who had yearly salaries out of the manors of Langley Mark and Sippenham, in Bucks. King Edward III. anno regni IV. removed those chaplains and clerks out of the park into the castle; and shortly after added four more chaplains and two clerks to them. But this victorious prince, being afterwards desirous of raising this place of his nativity to much greater splendor, refounded this ancient free cha-

pel royal, and in A. D. 1352 established it as a collegiate church, to the honour of the Virgin Mary, St. George, and St. Edward, King and Confessor, consisting of a custos (since called a dean) twelve great canons or prebendaries, thirteen vicars, or minor canons, four clerks, six choristers, twenty-six poor alms-knights, besides other officers; their yearly revenues were rated, 26 Henry VIII. at 1602*l.* 2*s.* 1*d.* ob. *q.* This free chapel was particularly excepted out of the act for suppressing colleges, &c. 1 Edward VI. c. 14. and still subsists in a flourishing condition." Thus far respecting its foundation and endowment; its present state and form is thus accurately delineated in the work entitled "London and its Environs described."

"Among the buildings of this noble palace we have mentioned the chapel of St. George, situated in the middle of the lower court: this ancient structure, which is now in the purest style of Gothic architecture, was first erected by King Edward III. in the year 1337, soon after the foundation of the college for the honour of the order of the garter, and dedicated to St. George, the patron of England; but however noble the first design might be, King Edward IV. not finding it entirely compleated, enlarged the structure, and designed the present building, together with the houses of the dean and canons, situated on the north and west sides of the chapel; the work was afterwards carried on by Henry VII. who finished the body of the chapel, and Sir Reginald Bray, knight of the garter, and the favourite of that king, assisted in ornamenting the chapel and completing the roof.

The architecture of the inside has always been esteemed for its neatness and great beauty; and in particular the stone roof is reckoned an excellent piece of workmanship. It is an ellipsis, supported by Gothic pillars, whose ribs and groins sustain the whole cieling, every part of which has some different device well finished, as the arms of Edward the Confessor, Edward III. Henry VI. Edward IV. Henry VII. and Henry VIII. also the arms of England and France quarterly, the cross of St. George, the rose, portcullis, lion rampant, unicorn, &c.

In

In a chapel in the south aisle is represented in ancient painting, the history of John the Baptist; and in the same aisle are painted on large pannels of oak, neatly carved and decorated with the several devices peculiar to each prince, the portraits at full length of Prince Edward, son to Henry VI. Edward IV. Edward V. and Henry VII. In the north aisle is a chapel dedicated to St. Stephen, wherein the history of that saint is painted on the pannels, and well preserved. In the first of these pannels St. Stephen is represented preaching to the people; in the second, he is before Herod's tribunal; in the third, he is stoning; and in the fourth, he is represented dead. At the east end of this aisle is the chapter-house of the college, in which is a portrait at full length, by a masterly hand, of the victorious Edward III. in his robes of state, holding in his right hand a sword, and bearing the crowns of France and Scotland, in token of the many victories he gained over those nations. On one side of this painting is kept the sword of that great and warlike prince.

But what appears most worthy of notice is the choir. On each side are the stalls of the sovereign and knights companions of the most noble order of the garter, with the helmet, mantling, crest and sword of each knight set up over his stall on a canopy of ancient carving curiously wrought, and over the canopy is affixed the banner or arms of each knight, properly blazoned on silk; and on the back of the stalls are the titles of the knights, with their arms neatly engraved and blazoned on copper. The sovereign's stall is on the right hand of the entrance into the choir, and is covered with purple velvet and cloth of gold, and has a canopy and complete furniture of the same valuable materials; his banner is likewise of velvet, and his mantling of cloth of gold. The prince's stall is on the left, and has no distinction from those of the rest of the knights companions: the whole society, according to the statutes of the institution, being companions and colleagues, equal in honour and power.

The altar-piece was, soon after the restoration, adorned with cloth of gold and purple damask by King Charles II. but on removing

moving the wainscot of one of the chapels in 1707, a fine painting of the Lord's supper was found, which being approved of by Sir James Thornhill, Verrio, and other eminent masters, was repaired and placed on the altar-piece. Near the altar is the queen's gallery for the accommodation of the ladies at an installation. In a vault under the marble pavement of this choir, are interred the bodies of Henry VIII. and Jane Seymour his queen, King Charles I. and a daughter of the late Queen Anne.

In the south aisle, near the door of the choir, is buried Henry VI. and the arch near which he was interred was sumptuously decorated by Henry VIII. with the royal ensigns and other devices, but they are now much defaced by time. In this chapel is also the monument of Edward, earl of Lincoln, lord high admiral of England in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, erected by his lady, who is also interred with him: the monument is of alabaster, with pillars of porphyry. Another, within a neat screen of brass work, is erected to the memory of Charles Somerset, earl of Worcester, and knight of the garter, who died in 1526, and his lady, daughter to William, earl of Huntingdon. A stately monument of white marble erected to the memory of Henry Somerset, duke of Beaufort, and knight of the garter, who died in 1699. There are here also the tombs of Sir George Manners, Lord Roos, that of the Lord Hastings, chamberlain to Edward IV. and several others.

Before we conclude our account of this ancient chapel, it will be proper to observe, that King James II. made use of it for the service of popery; and mass being publicly performed there, it has ever since been neglected and suffered to run to ruin; and being no appendage to the collegiate church, waits the royal favour to retrieve it from the disgrace of its present situation.

BRITISH MUSEUM 12 JUL 73



READING ABBEY, Pl. 1.

READING ABBEY. (PLATE I.)

THIS was a mitred parliamentary abbey, and one of the most considerable in England, both for the magnificence of its buildings and the richness of its endowments. King Henry I. began to lay the foundations anno 1121, having pulled down a small deserted nunnery, by some said to have been founded by Elfrida, mother-in-law of King Edward, called the Martyr, in expiation of the murder of that king at Corfe castle. The new monastery was completed in four years; but the church was either not consecrated till the reign of Henry II. or else that ceremony was, for the second time, performed in the year 1163 or 1164, by archbishop Becket, the king and many of the nobility being present. It was dedicated to the honour of the Holy Trinity, the Blessed Virgin Mary, and St. John the Evangelist. Browne Willis, from divers good authorities and reasons, to these adds St. James, making its tutelars stand in the following order: the Holy Trinity, the Blessed Virgin Mary, St. James, and St. John the Evangelist. It was however commonly called the abbey of St. Mary at Reading, probably from the extraordinary veneration paid in those days to the Holy Virgin, which even exceeded that shewn to the name of Christ. It was endowed for two hundred monks of the Benedictine order, although at the inquisition, 50 Edward III. there were only one hundred.

In this abbey was buried the body of King Henry I. its founder; but his heart, eyes, tongue, brains, and bowels, according to Doctor Ducarrel, in his Anglo-Norman Antiquities, were deposited under a handsome monument, before the high altar, in the ancient priory church of Notre Dame du Pres, otherwise the Bonnes Nouvelles, at Rouen, founded anno 1060, and destroyed during the siege at Rouen, in 1592.

Here likewise was interred Adeliza, his second queen; and, according to some writers, his daughter Maud the empress, mother to King Henry II. though others, with more probability, fix

the place of her sepulchre at Bec, in Normandy. Over her tomb here, it is said, were the following verses:

Ortu magna, viro major, sed maxima partu,
Hic jacet Henrici filia, sponsa, parens.

In this place was also buried, at the feet of his great grandfather, William, eldest son of King Henry II. likewise Constance, daughter of Edmund de Langley, duke of York; Anne, countess of Warwick; a son and daughter of Richard, earl of Cornwall; and a great number of other persons of rank and distinction. King Henry I. had a tomb, on which was his effigies, as appears from a record, quoted by Tanner; and probably there were many other magnificent monuments, which were demolished or removed, when the monastery was converted into a royal mansion; but it is not likely that the bones of the persons buried were disturbed and thrown out, as asserted by Sandford, neither was the abbey turned into a stable; for Camden says, "The monastery, wherein King Henry I. was interred, was converted into a royal seat; adjoining to which stands a fair stable, stored with noble horses of the king's." The demolition of these monuments is thus pathetically lamented:

——————— Heu dira piacula! primus
Neustrius Henricus, situs hic, inglorius urna
Nunc jacet ejectus, tumulum novus advena quærit
Frustra; nam regi tenues invidit arenas
Auri sacra fames, regum metuenda sepulchris.

History particularises only two councils held here, in the refectory, or rather the church; one in the reign of King John, by the pope's legate; the other in that of Edward I. by archbishop Peckham: there is reason however to believe, that divers others were held at the same place; likewise in this monastery a parliament was assembled 31 Henry VI. wherein divers laws were enacted.

This abbey had funds for entertaining the poor and travellers of all sorts; which according to William of Malmsbury was so well

well performed, that more money was spent in hospitality than expended on the monks. Yet nevertheless, Hugh, the eighth abbot, having, as he says in his grant, observed an improper partiality, in the entertainment of the rich in preference to the poor, (although the founder, King Henry, had directed, that hospitality should be shewn indifferently to all persons) he therefore founded an hospital, near the gate of the monastery, for the reception of such pilgrims and poor persons as were not admitted into the abbey; and likewise gave to the said hospital the church of St. Laurence, for ever, for the maintaining of thirteen poor persons, in diet, clothes, and other necessaries: allowing for the keeping of thirteen more, out of the usual alms. This, in all likelihood, though done under the specious pretence of charity, was only a method taken to exclude the meaner persons from the table of the abbey, which was at that time, when inns were not so common as at present, often frequented by travellers of the better sort. By this means also a considerable saving would accrue to the house; the fare of this hospital being, doubtless, suitable to the condition of the persons there entertained.

An hospital for poor lepers was also founded near the church, by Aucherius, the second abbot; it was dedicated to St. Mary Magdalen. Here they were comfortably maintained, and governed by divers rules and regulations, admirably well calculated for preserving peace, harmony, and good order. Among them were these: Any one disputing, and being ordered by the master to hold his peace, not obeying at the third monition, was to have nothing but bread and water that day. He who gave the lye was subject to the same punishment, attended with some humiliating circumstances: if after this he continued sullen, or did not patiently submit to his castigation, it was to be repeated another day: when, if he still persevered in his obstinacy, he was to lose the benefit of the charity for forty days. A blow was immediate expulsion: and none were to go abroad, or into the laundress's house, without a companion.

Hugh

Hugh Farringdon, the last abbot, refusing to deliver up his abbey to the visitors, was attainted of high treason, on some charge trumped up against him; and in the month of November, 1539, with two of his monks, named Rugg and Onion, was hanged, drawn and quartered, at Reading. This happened on the same day on which the abbot of Glastonbury suffered the like sentence, for the similar provocation.

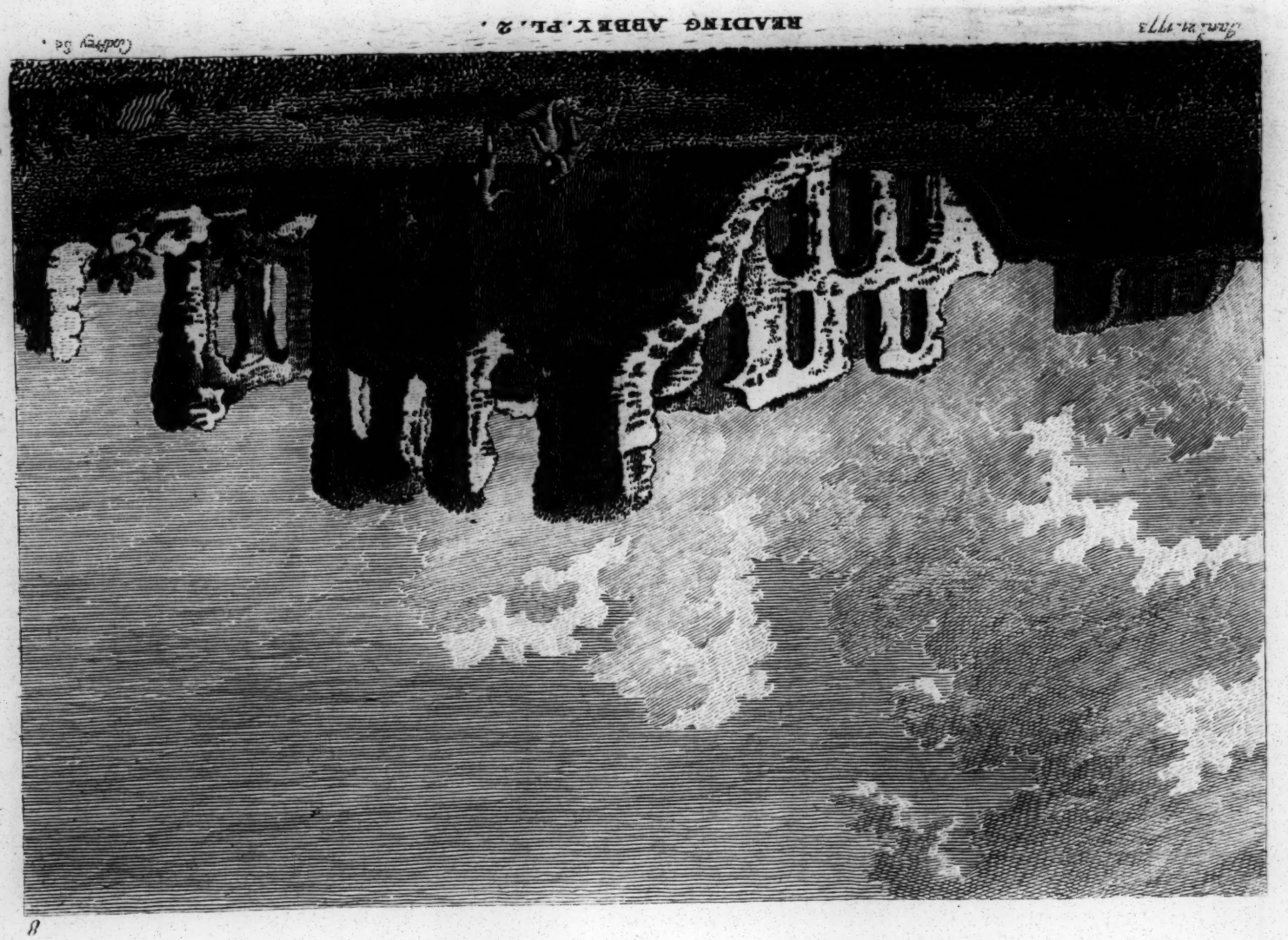
At the dissolution, the revenues of this monastery were valued at 1938l. 14s. 3d. ob. q. Dugdale; 2116l. 3s. 9d. ob. Speed. The abbot had an excellent summer retirement at Cholsey, near Wallingford, called the abbot's place; by which name it was granted to Sir Francis Englefield, 4 and 5 Philip and Mary. The site of this abbey now belongs to the crown; the present lessees for a term of years, are John Blagrave, esq. and the representatives of Henry Vansittart, esq.

The abbey church seems to have been a spacious fabric, built in the form of a cross: some of its walls were lately remaining; they were of rough flint, and were formerly cased with squared stone; but of this they have been stripped. There is likewise to be seen, the remainder of our lady's chapel and the refectory; this last is eighty-four feet long, and forty-eight broad: and is, according to Willis, the room in which was held the parliament before mentioned. The cloisters have long been totally demolished. About eight years ago, a very considerable quantity of the abbey ruins, some of the pieces as much as two teams of horses could draw, composed of gravel and flints, cemented together with what the bricklayers now call grout, a fluid mortar, consisting mostly of lime, was removed, for General Conway's use, to build a bridge in the road betwixt Wargrave and Henley, adjoining to his park.

This view, drawn in 1762, represents the great gate of the abbey, which was formerly embattled; about thirty years ago it was judged necessary to take off the embattlements: this has considerably hurt its appearance.

PLATE

BRITISH
12 JU 73
MUSEUM



READING ABBEY. PL. 2.

Godfrey Sc.

Chas. Ja. 1773

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(PLATE II.)

This plate shews the south view of the remains of this once magnificent abbey, majestic in its ruins!

The following circumstances relative to this monastery occur in Prynne's History of Papal Usurpations. In the year 1215, the abbot of Reading was one of the delegates appointed by the pope together with Pandulph the legate, and the bishop of Winchester, for the promulgating the excommunication against the barons concerned in the opposition to King John; as also in the succeeding year, when divers of those barons were excommunicated particularly and by name. In 39 Henry III. the maintenance of two Jewish converts, both women, was imposed on this house; and in the same reign, the king attempting to borrow a large sum of money from some of the great abbies, among which were Westminster, St. Alban's, Reading, and Waltham, was positively refused by the abbot of Reading.

Fuller in his Church History has this anecdote of one of the abbots, which he stiles "a pleasant and true story: King Henry VIII. as he was hunting in Windsor Forest, either casually lost, or (more probably) wilfully losing himself, struck down about dinner time to the abbey of Reading, where, disguising himself (much for delight, more for discovery to see unseen) he was invited to the abbot's table, and passed for one of the king's guard; a place to which the proportion of his person might properly entitle him. A sir-loyne of beef was set before him (so knighted, saith tradition, by this King Henry) on which the king laid on lustily, not disgracing one of that place for whom he was mistaken. Well fare thy heart (quoth the abbot) and here in a cup of sack I remember the health of his grace your master. I would give an hundred pounds on the condition I could feed so heartily on beef as you doe. Alas! my weak and squeazie stomach will hardly digest the wing of a small rabbet or chicken. The king pleasantly pledged him, and heartily thanked him for his good

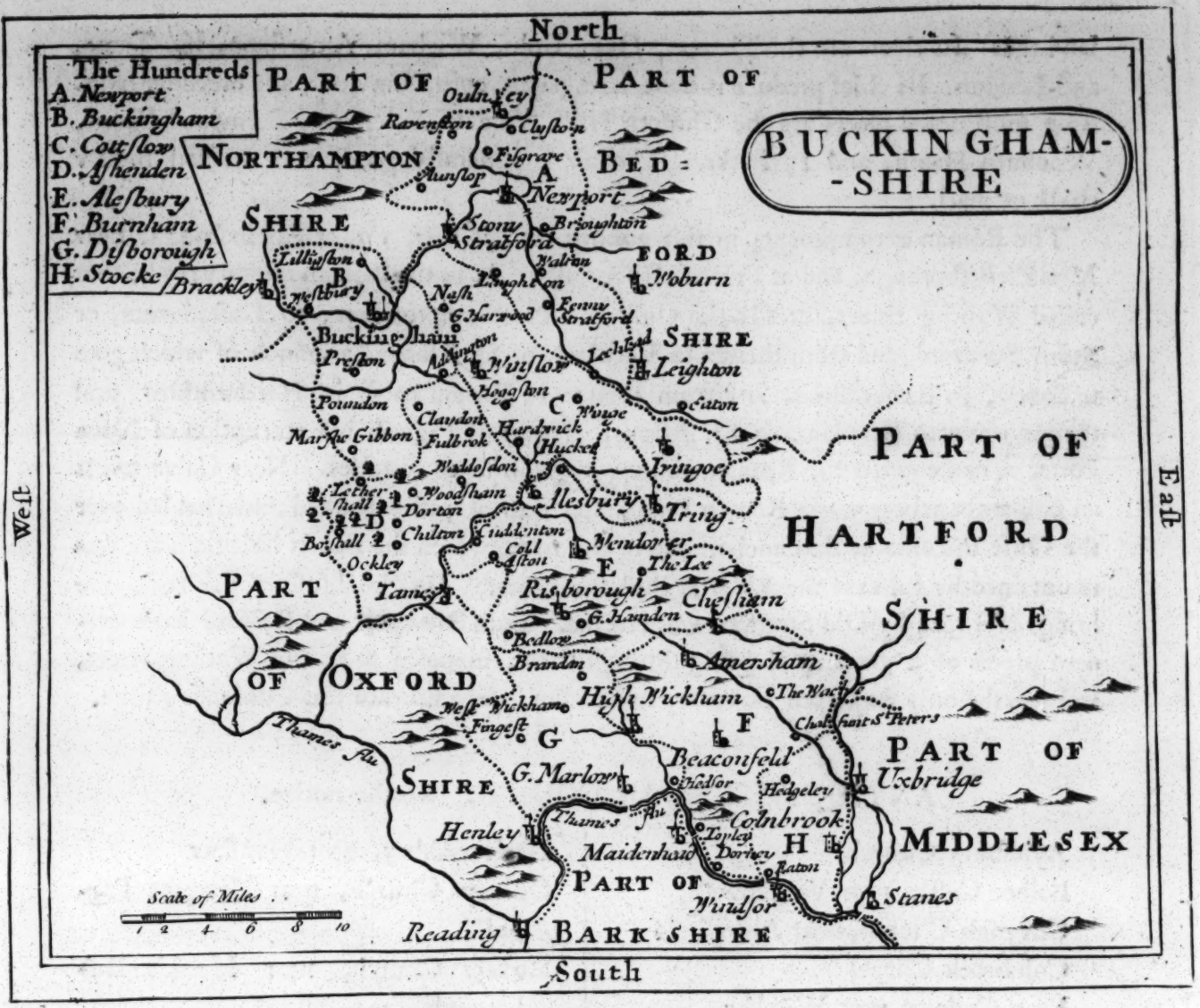
chear; after dinner departed as undiscovered as he came thither. Some weeks after the abbot was sent for by a pursuivant, brought up to London, clapt in the Tower, kept close prisoner, fed for a short time with bread and water; yet not so empty his body of food, as his mind was filled with fears, creating many suspicions to himself, when and how, he had incurred the king's displeasure. At last a sir-loyne of beef was set before him, on which the abbot fed as the farmer of his grange, and verified the proverb, that two hungry meals make the third a glutton. In springs King Henry out of a private lobbie, where he had placed himself, the invisible spectator of the abbot's behaviour. My lord (quoth the king) presently deposit your hundred pounds in gold, or else no going hence all the daies of your life. I have been your physician to cure you of your squeazie stomach; and here, as I deserve, I demand my fee for the same. The abbot down with his dust, and glad he had escaped so, returned to Reading; as somewhat lighter in purse, so much more merrier in heart than when he came thence."

The succession of the abbots is thus given by Browne Willis, in his History of Mitred Abbies: " 1. Hugh prior of Lewis, co. Sussex, was at the time of the foundation, an. 1125, made the first abbat by the founder Henry I. about four years after which, viz. an. 1129, he was translated to the archbishopric of Roan in Normandy, where he died the Ides of Nov. 1134. On his quitting this abbey, he was therein succeeded by, 2. Ausgerus, called in the Monasticon, Aucherius. He founded an house of lepers to the honour of St. Mary Magdalen; and dying an. 1134, or, as Matthew of Westminster says, 6 Cal. Feb. 1135, was succeeded by, 3. Edward, who died in December, ann. 1154, and was succeeded by, 4. Reginald, made abbat the same year; he died 3 Nones Feb. 1158, as Matthew of Westminster says, and was succeeded by, 5. Roger; in whose time Thomas archbishop of Canterbury dedicated the monastery of Reading anew, King Henry II. and many of the nobility being present; he died 13 Cal. Feb. an. 1164, and was succeeded by, 6. William, a religious and prudent man,

man, made archbishop of Bourdeaux, an. 1173, by the special favour of King Henry; whose successor, 7. Joseph deceasing about the year 1180, was succeeded by, 8. Hugh, a learned writer, and a special benefactor to this house. He erected an hospital without the gate of the abbey, to maintain 26 poor people, and all strangers who should pass that way. An. 1199, being made abbat of Cluny, he quitted this abbey, and was succeeded the next year, viz. 1200, by 9. Helias; who dying 12 Cal. Aug. 1212, was succeeded, after near a year's vacancy, by, 10. Simon. He died the Ides of Feb. an. 1226, and was succeeded by, 11 Adam de Latebar, or Lathbury, prior of Leominster, co. Hereford; upon whose decease, an. 1238, 8 Ides April, 12 Richard, sub-prior of this house, was appointed abbat. He continued but a small time, and was succeeded by, 13. Adam, who resigned an. 1249, and was succeeded by another of his name, viz. 14. Adam, sacrist of this house; on whose death or cession the same year, 15. William, sub-prior of Coventry, became abbat; whose successor, 16. Richard, dying anno 1261, 17. Richard de Banaster, alias de Rading, was elected abbat. He presided 8 years, and was succeeded an. 1268, by, 18. Robert de Burghare; who resigning an. 1287, 19. William de Sutton succeeded as abbat: he died an. 1305, and was succeeded by, 20. Nicholas de Quaplode, who had his election confirmed in September 1305. He began to build our lady's chapel on the 13 Cal. of May, an. 1314; and deceasing an. 1327, had for his successor, 21. John de Appleford. He died an. 1341, and was succeeded by, 22. Henry de Appleford. He governed twenty years, and dying July 29, 1360, 35 Edward III. was succeeded by, 23. William de Dombleton, confirmed abbat, an. 1361. Dr. Tanner informs me, he has met with one Nicholas, abbat of Reading, an. 1362; but this seems to be a mistake; for William Dombleton died possessed of this abbey, an. 1368, and was then succeeded by, 24. John de Sutton: upon whose death, which happened an. 1378, 25. Richard de Yately was elected abbat. I do not find when he died; but it appears from Salisbury Register, that he presided an. 1396; and 'tis probable that he did

so

so till the year 1409, when, 26. Thomas Erle was elected. He died an. 1430, and was succeeded December the 1st, the same year, by, 27. Thomas Henley; who dying November 11, 1445, 28. John Thorne was preferred to this dignity January the 7th following. During his government he suppressed an old alms-house of poor sisters, near St. Laurence's church, founded in all likelihood by one of the preceding abbats of Reading, and employed the revenues to the use of the almoner of this abbey; which King Henry VII. being informed of, at his coming to Reading, he ordered abbat Thorne to convert both the house and lands to pious uses; whereupon the abbat desired the King that it might be made a grammar school; which being assented to, one William Dene, a rich man and servant of the abbey, gave 200 marks towards the advancement of the said school; which, Mr. Leland tells us, appeared from his epitaph in the abbey church. This abbat died before this settlement was perfected, viz. an. 1486, in the second year of King Henry VII. and was succeeded by another, 29. John Thorne, who died an. 1519, and was succeeded by, 30. Thomas Worcester. He governed but a short time; for in the next year, viz. 1520, he was succeeded by, 31. Hugh Farringdon, the last abbat, executed at Reading, as has before been observed, anno 1539. I find only 59*l.* 13*s.* remaining in charge out of the revenues of this late convent, to 13 monks and novices; the execution of the abbat probably depriving the dependants of their claims to fees and annuities. These monks were Elizeus Burgess, whose pension was 6*l.* as were John Fryson, John Wright, John Harper, John Mylly, John Turner, Luke Wythorne, Thomas Taylor, 5*l.* each. Robert Bayner's pension was 4*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* John South's 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* and Richard Purser's, and Richard Butts, 2*l.* apiece." This view was drawn anno 1759.



BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

Is an inland county. During the time, prior to the landing of the Romans, it was included in the diviſion of Catieuchlani; and after their conqueſt it was included in their third province of Flavia Cæſarienſis. During the Heptarchy it belonged to the kingdom of Mercia, which commenced in 582, and terminated in 827, having had eighteen kings; and it is now included in the Norfolk circuit, the dioceſe of Lincoln, and the province of Canterbury. It is bounded on the north by Northamptonſhire, ſouth by Berkſhire, eaſt by Bedfordſhire, Hertfordſhire, and Middleſex, and weſt by Oxfordſhire. It is of an oblong form, whoſe greateſt extent is from north to ſouth. It contains 441,000 acres, has above 111,400 inhabitants, 185 pariſhes, 73 vicarages, is 39 miles long, 18 broad, and 109 in circumference. It has 15 market towns, viz. Buckingham and Ayleſbury, the county towns, Marlow, Newport Pagnell, Winſlow, Wendover, Beconsfield, Wiccomb, Cheſham, Amerſham, Stony Stratford, Colnbrook, Ivingho, Oulney, Riſborough; beſides the conſiderable villages of Eton and Fenny Stratford, and 613 others inferior. It is divided into 8 hundreds, provides 560 men for the militia, ſends 14 Parliament Men, and pays 12 parts of the

land tax. Its rivers are the Thames, Ouſe, Coln, Wicham, Amerſham, Iſa, Tame, and Loddon. Its chief produce is bone-lace, paper, corn, fine wool, and breeding rams. The moſt noted places are the Chiltern Hills, Vale of Ayleſbury, Bernwood-Foreſt, Wooburn-Heath, and 15 Parks. The air is generally good, and the ſoil moſtly chalk or marl.

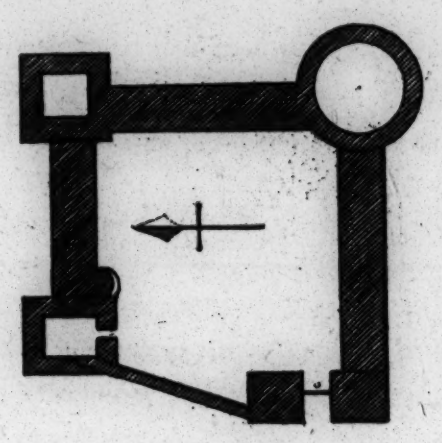
The Roman encampments in this county are but few, viz. at Elleſborough, near Monk's Riſborough, and at Prince's Riſborough. As to the Roman military roads, that called Watling Street, croſſes the Ouſe into Northamptonſhire, to Lactodorum, or Stony Stratford, and from thence to Verulam, or St. Albans, a branch of which goes to Sandy, in Bedfordſhire, and from thence to Ravenſworth in Hertfordſhire, and thence again to Verulam, or St. Albans. Newport Pagnell is a corruption of Nova Porta, a name given the Roman military ways in ſome counties. Near Calverton is an eminence where was a Roman camp, and near it paſſes the old road that led over the Ouſe to Paſham, that ancient paſs of the river, which the Saxon hiſtorians ſay was maintained by Edward the Elder againſt the Danes. On the diſuſe of this road, the bridge and road by Old Stratford was erected. Both Newport and Bedford have evident proofs of a great road going through them, ſuppoſed to be the Watling Street, and was the only way from Daventry to London before Edward the Confeſſor's time.

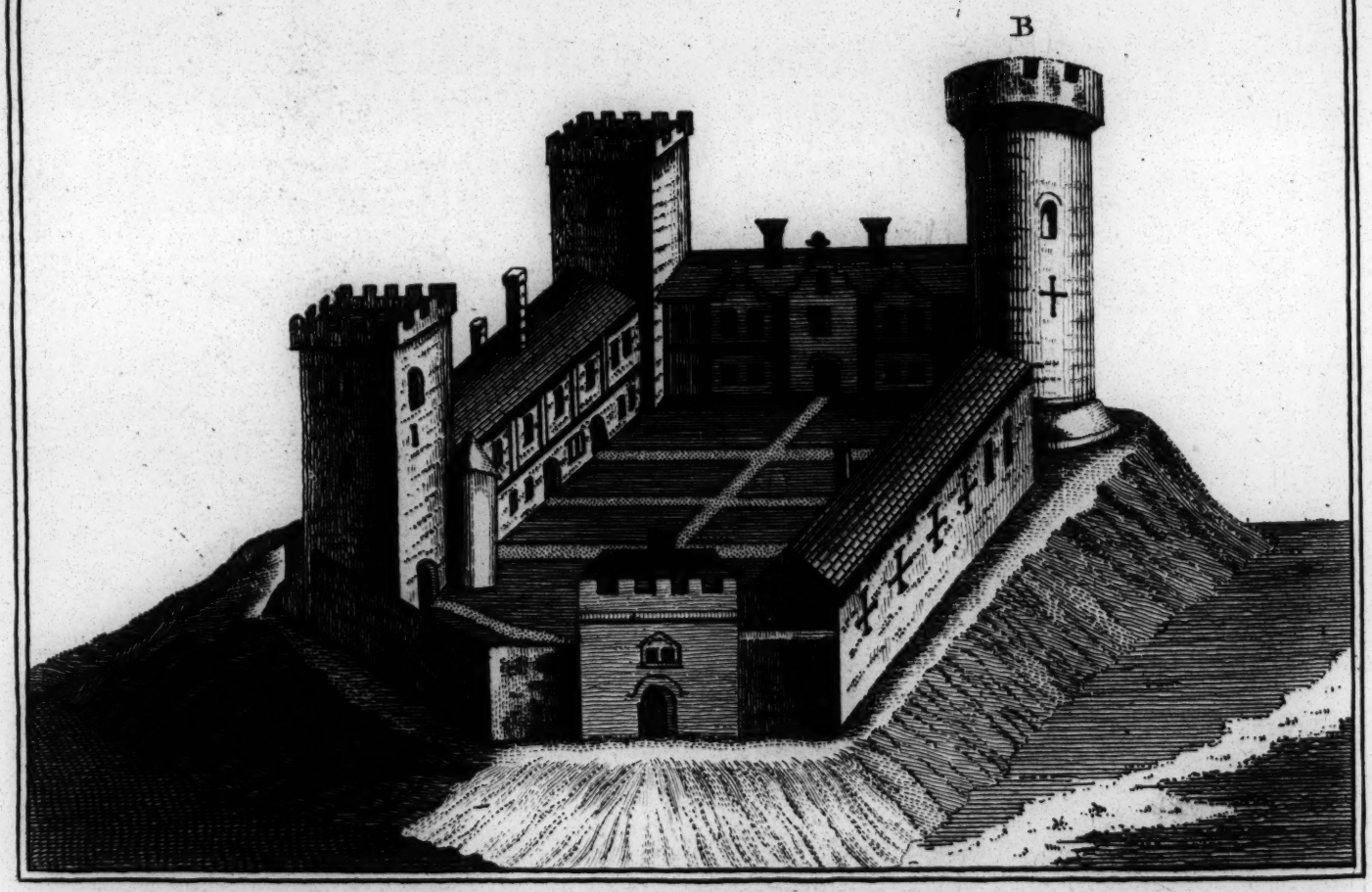
ANTIQUITIES in this COUNTY worthy notice.

Ayleſbury Church
Bolbec Caſtle, near Winſlow
Cheyneis Church, near Amerſham
Colnbrook Chapel
Eton College, near Windſor
Notley Abbey, near Winſlow
Oulney Church, near Newport Pagnel
Stukely Church, near Monk's Riſborough

BRITISH MUSEUM 12 JU 73

SMITHSON. MUSEUM
12 JUL 73





Plan & View of Cambridge Castle, from an Ancient Drawing, formerly belonging to General Armstrong; supposed to be Drawn about the Reign of Queen Elizabeth.

B. *The Julliet or great Tower mention'd by Ralp Agard vide Antiquarian discourses.*

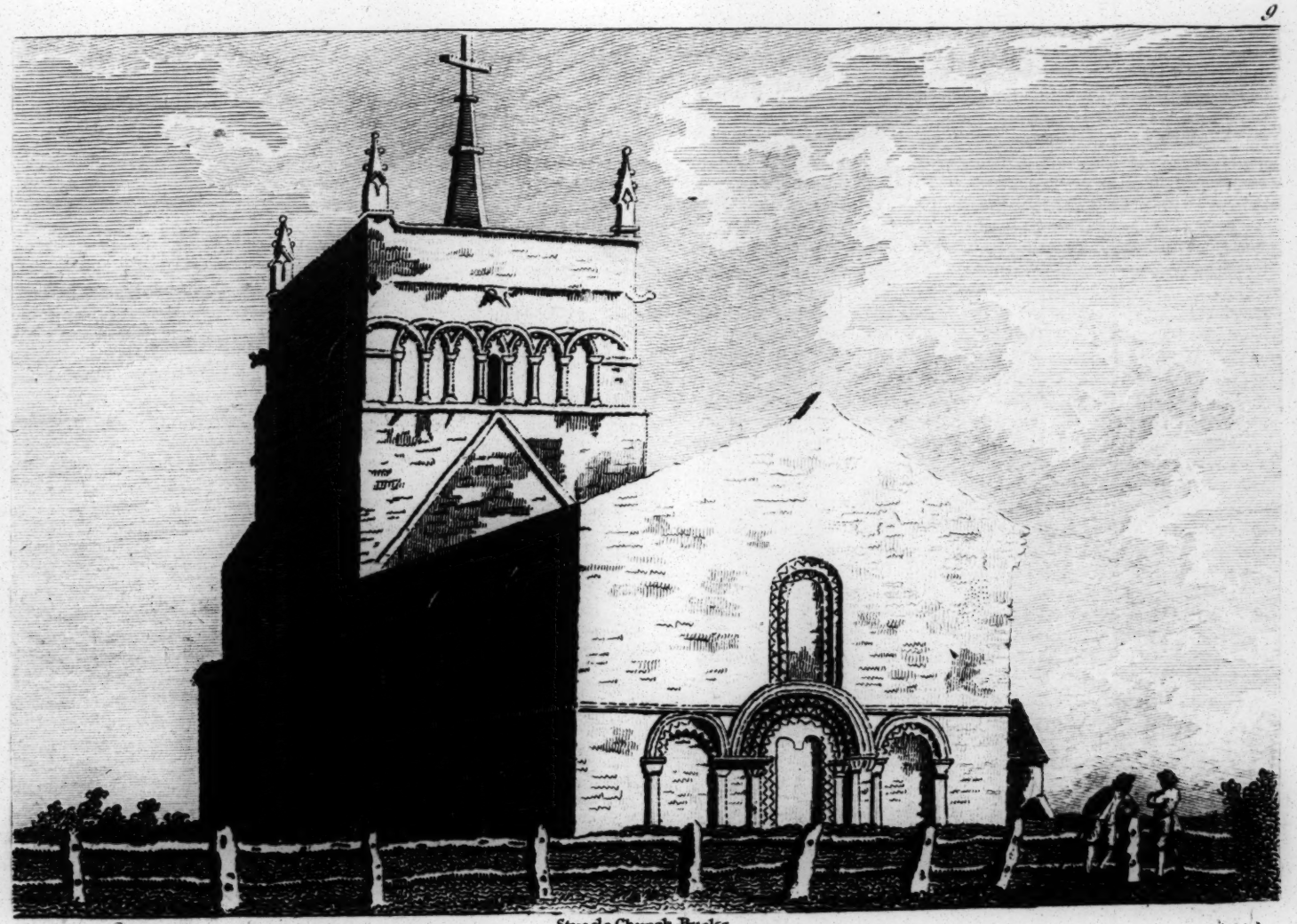
BRITISH MUSEUM 12JUL73



CAMBRIDGE CASTLE.

Pub.d 24 Dec.r 1783 by S. Hooper.

SMITHSN.
12 JUL 73
LIBRARIES



Stwecle Church, Bucks.
Pub. 20 Feb. 1784 by S. Hooper.

STIVECLE, OR STUKELY CHURCH.

The solidity of this building, as well as its circular arches and zig-zag ornaments, evidently mark its great antiquity. The particular time of its erection is not known; it is however mentioned as early as the reign of Henry II. when it was given by Geffry de Clinton, chamberlain to that king, to the priory of Kenelworth in Warwickshire, of which his father was founder. It is there called the church of Stivecle, or Stiff Clay, in all likelihood from the kind of soil whereon it stood. The present church must be from its stile at least as old as that period.

It is a vicarage in the diocese of Lincoln and deanry of Muresley; the church is dedicated to St. Mary; the bishop of Oxford is both proprietor and patron; the certified value 68l. 19s. 8d. and rated in the king's books at 9l. 9s. 7d. the yearly tenths, 18s. 11d.½

This plate is engraved from a drawing made at the expence of the late Dr. Littleton, bishop of Carlisle, and communicated to the author. The original is in the library of the Society of Antiquaries of London.

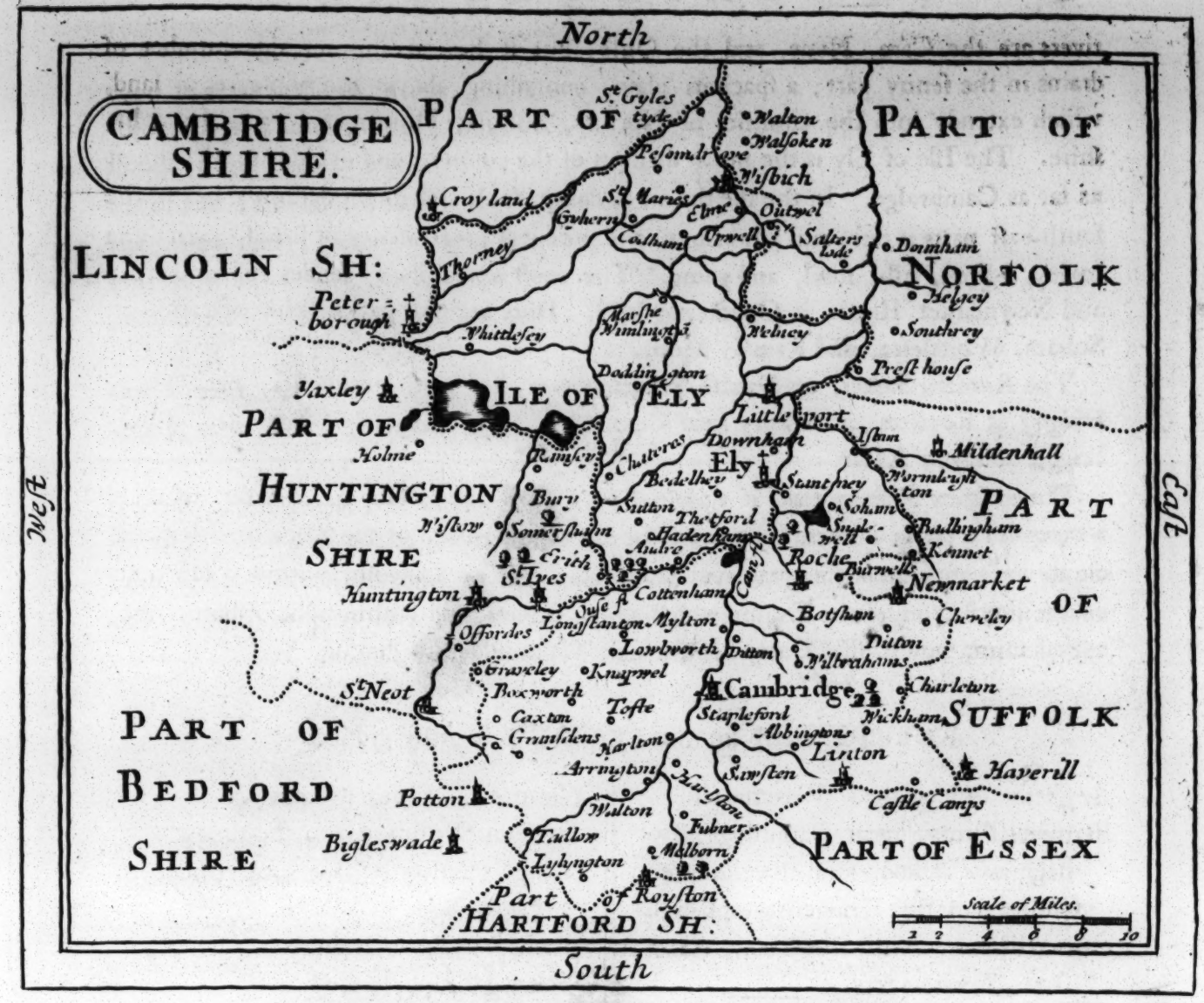
CAMBRIDGE CASTLE

Is situated on the north side of the river Cam, near the bridge; and was, with many others, erected by William the Conqueror, in the first year of his reign, for the purpose of awing his newly acquired subjects. It appears by Domesday-book, that eighteen houses were destroyed for the site of this castle, which was both strong and spacious, having a noble hall, with many other magnificent apartments. In the year 1216, in the reign of King John, it was besieged and taken by the barons; and about the year 1291, King Edward I. was entertained here two days and two nights. He is said to be the first king who ever honoured it with the royal presence; and in 1299 that prince granted it

with the town of Cambridge to Queen Margaret, as part of her dower. In process of time this castle being neglected, and falling to ruin, the materials of its great hall were given, by King Henry IV. to the master and wardens of King's Hall, towards building their chapel; and Queen Mary granted as much of the stones and timber to Sir John Huddlestone, as sufficed to build his house at Sawston. Great part of it was standing in Camden's time, who calls it "a large antient castle, which seemeth now to have lived out its full time;" and Mr. Arthur Agard, an ingenious antiquary, his cotemporary, says, the JULLIET, or KEEP, was standing when he was a scholar at Cambridge; but adds, that since his time it had been defaced.

In an antient view of the town of Cambridge, printed at Strasbourg, in the year 1575, in the possession of Doctor Ducarrel, which seems to belong to some topographical book, the castle is represented entire, and standing on an eminence; its figure, an irregular pentagon, having its north and south sides (which are perpendicular to that on the east) parallel, and much longer than the others: these sides are flanked by four towers; three of them square, and one round. The round tower is at the south-east angle, and is much larger than the rest; the entrance is through a tower, facing south-west.

On the inside, adjoining to the walls, are buildings which have the appearance of dwelling-houses, and were probably apartments for the governor, and barracks for the garrison. As that print was published abroad, and well engraved, it was in all likelihood copied from some English draught, of approved authority, and of much earlier date; and indeed it thoroughly agrees with the plan annexed, which had every mark of authenticity. In the year 1769, when this view was taken, nothing remained but the gate-house, which then served for the county prison. At a small distance from this building, is one of those artificial mounts, so frequently to be found near antient castles. Immediately under it, and opposite the windows of the prison, stands the gallows for the execution of malefactors.



CAMBRIDGESHIRE

Is an inland county. Prior to the arrival of the Romans it was included in the antient diviſion of the Iceni; and after their conquest, in the third province of Flavia Cæſarienſis, which reached from the Thames to the Humber. During the Heptarchy it belonged to the kingdom of the Eaſt Angles, the ſixth kingdom, which began in 575, and ended in 792, having had 14 kings; and it is now included in the Norfolk circuit, the dioceſe of Ely, and province of Canterbury. It is bounded on the weſt by Huntingdonſhire and Bedfordſhire; on the eaſt by Norfolk and Suffolk; on the ſouth by Hertfordſhire and Eſſex; and on the north by Lincolnſhire. It is about 40 miles in length from north to ſouth, and 25 in breadth from eaſt to weſt, and is 130 miles in circumference, containing near 570,000 acres. It has about 17,400 houſes, 140,000 inhabitants, is divided into 17 hundreds, in which are one city, Ely; 8 market towns, viz. Cambridge, which is the ſhire town, and a celebrated univerſity; Caxton, Linton, Merch, Newmarket, Soham, Wiſbeach, Thorney, and part of Royſton; 220 villages, 64 pariſhes, ſends four Members to Parliament, pays one part of the land tax, and provides 480 men in the militia. Its only

rivers are the Cam, Nene, and the Ouſe; but it has an innumerable number of drains in the fenny part; a ſpacious plain, containing above 300,000 acres of land, which extends into the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Huntingdon, and Lincolnſhire. The Iſle of Ely is the north diviſion of the county, and extends ſouth almoſt as far as Cambridge. In the iſle the air is damp, foul, and unwholeſome; but in the ſouth-eaſt parts is pure and ſalubrious, and produces great plenty of bread, corn, and barley, ſaffron, fiſh, fowl, and game. The moſt noted place, beſides the univerſity and Newmarket Heath, is Gogmagog-hills. Here are five parks, with Streathham, Soham, Whittleſea, and Ramſay Meers.

The Roman, Saxon, or Daniſh encampments, are at Grantcheſter, near Cambridge; at Royſton, at Arbury near Cambridge, upon Gogmagog-hills near Cambridge, and near Audre.

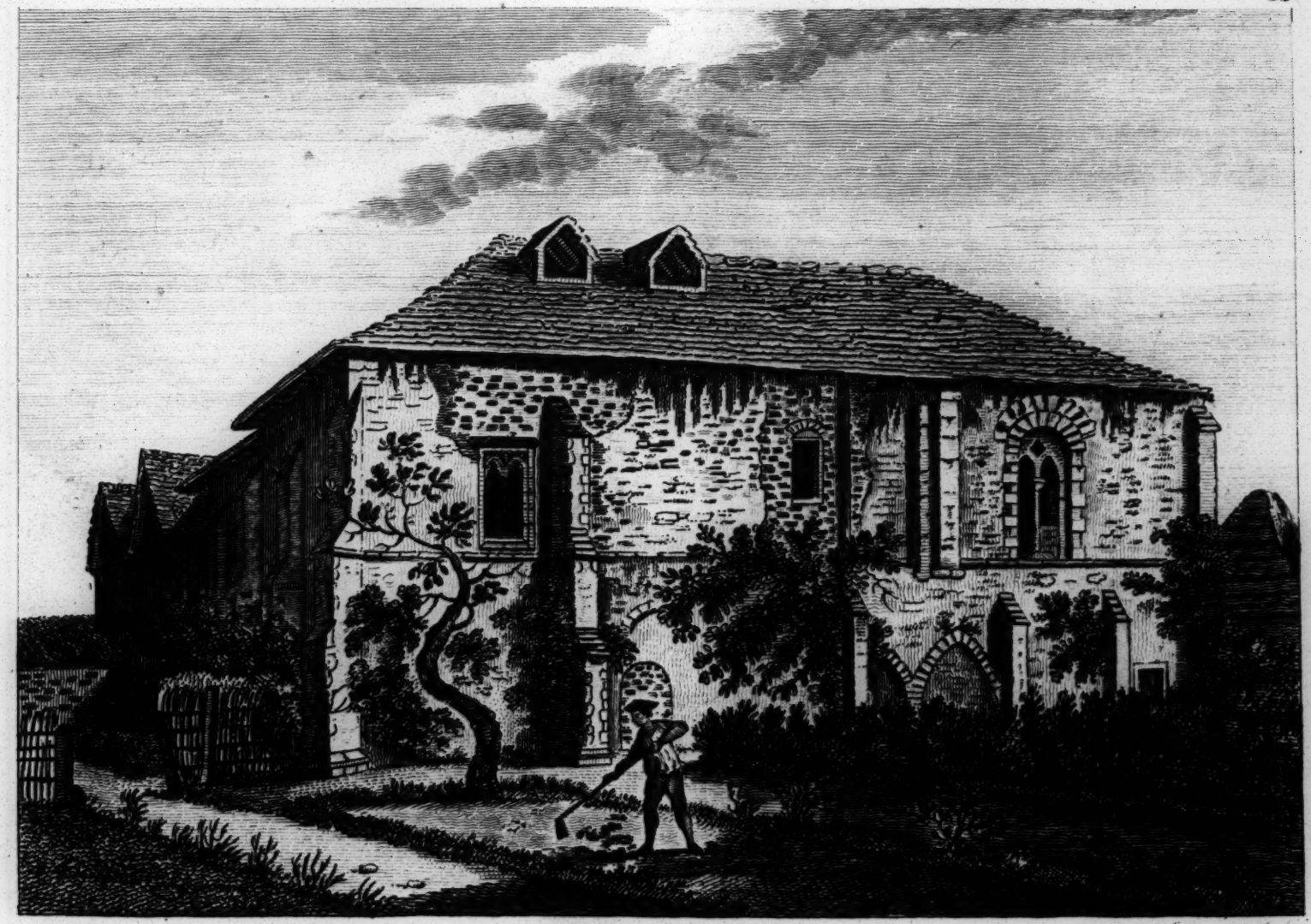
The military Roman road is viſible from Cheſterton to Gogmagog-hills, where is a camp with treble ditches, ſuppoſed to be the Camboritum of the Romans. It ſtands on an eminence upon the great road from Colcheſter to Lincoln, within a few miles of the interſection of the Erming and Ikening Streets, and within ſight of both. Camulodonum, now Caſtle Camps, is the next Cambridgeſhire ſtation.

ANTIQUITIES in this COUNTY worthy notice.

Angleſey Abbey, near Waterbeach
Barnwell Priory, near Cambridge, Pythagoras's School, and the different Colleges of the Univerſity and public Schools, with the Town-Gaol, Croſs, Conduit, &c.
Cambridge Caſtle, Round Church
Caſtle Camps, near Linton
Denny Priory, near Waterbeach
Ely Cathedral, and St. Mary's Church, near it
Grantcheſter, near Cambridge
Incleton Nunnery, near Foulmere
King's College Chapel and Bridge, in Cambridge
Ramſey Abbey Gateway
Soham Church, near Ely
Spiney Abbey, near Soham
Thorney Abbey, near Peterborough
Whittleſea Church.

12 JU 73

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Pythagora's School.

Sparrow Sc.

Published 1st May 1783, by S. Hooper.

PYTHAGORAS'S SCHOOL.

For the following very ingenious dissertation and description of this ancient building, I am obliged to a clergyman in the neighbourhood of Cambridge, well versed in English antiquities, and particularly in those of the county wherein he resides.

Before I attempt to dive into the very obscure origin of this ancient structure, it may be useful to trace its transfer from its remotest owners down to its present proprietors; and this from authentic documents in the archieves of Merton college, to whom it now belongs.

The priory of St. Giles's, in Cambridge, was founded about 1092, by Picot, baron of Brunne, with Hugolina, his wife, near the place where the church of St. Giles now stands: but the situation being found to be too strait and confined, it was removed, some twenty years after, to a place called Bernewelle, on the other side of the river. Whether this building was any part of that foundation, I believe is more than can be ascertained: certain it is, however, that it was part of their possessions. For Laurence de Stanfield, prior, with the convent of Bernewelle, demised the premises, formerly granted to Algar Nobilis of Cambridge, to Hervey Fitz Eustace, of the same place; this was about the year 1233, as it is witnessed by Jeremiah de Caxton, then sheriff of the county. Much about the same time, Baldwin, the son of Baldwin Blangernun, of Cambridge, conveys this messuage to Hervey Fitz Eustace, for one of the witnesses to the conveyance was Geoffrey de Hatferd, high sheriff of the county: now he was in that office from 1224 to 1232. The same person also grants the said messuage, with an holme, to the said Hervey: this was towards the end of the reign of Henry III. as Jer. de Caxton is a witness, together with Henry de Colvyle, then sheriff; but as he was in that office both in 1236, 1240 and 1250, it may be difficult to ascertain the precise year. In the copy I have seen of this conveyance, the sheriff is called Hen. de Colȳ: but as no such

such person ever was sheriff, and a Hen. de Colvyle, an old family, still in being, was evidently so about this time, I have no difficulty to suppose him to be the person meant, and that the transcriber made a mistake. Together with the messuage was conveyed an holme: this I make no doubt, are the swampy low grounds and pond-yards, lying on the bank of the river, and extending towards the library of St. John's college, on this side of the river.

About the year 1256, John Shotley, prior of Bernewell, with his convent, demised the said premises to Eustace Fitz-Hervey, probably son of the former, which formerly had been in the occupation of Henry, the son of Edward Frost, whom I take to have been the original founder of St. John's Hospital, in Cambridge, about 1210, by giving the site on which the hospital was built: so that the college of St. John the Evangelist, now grafted on that hospital, and still enjoying its possessions, may justly be accounted the first of our present colleges.

By an indenture, dated at Cambridge 41 Henry III. anno 1256, Eustace, the son of Hervey Dunning of Cambridge, leases to Mag. Guy de Castro Bernardi, the messuage that belonged to his father Hervey, and in which he lived, with other lands, &c. except the capital messuage which he had purchased of Baldwin Blangernun: and in the same year the said Eustace mortgaged his estate, together with this capital messuage, to the abovesaid M. Guy de Castro Bernardi, an ancient family in Cambridge; on whose decease, Richard, son and heir of Eustace Fitz-Hervey Dunning, seised, as lord of the manor, the said premises into his hands: whereupon William de Manfend, nephew and heir of the said M. Guy, brought it into the King's Bench, where it was tried before Sir Robert Fulco, chief justice of that bench, where the cause was traversed, and given against the said Richard Dunning. This happened about 1270, and probably brought on, on purpose to create a clear and legal title to the estate: for in the same year, this William de Manefend conveyed the same to the present proprietors. About the year 1256, it appears that the house was in the occupation of St. John's Hospital, in Cambridge;

bridge; for about that time the masters and brethren of that hospital grant to Henry Fitz-Eustace, and his heirs for ever, two beds with their necessary coverlids, for the use of infirm persons, in their stone house, obliging themselves to find a chaplain, and to celebrate mass, especially for the soul of Eustace Fitz-Hervey, in acknowledgment for the lands granted by him to their hospital, lying in Cambridge, Chesterton and Madingley. No doubt he was a considerable benefactor to that religious house, though omitted as such, by the worthy Mr. Baker, in his excellent history of that foundation; for so late as the year 1284, when Richard Cheverel was master, they oblige themselves to find and maintain a chaplain, one of their brethren, for the above purpose, within their own house. This was after Merton college was in possession of the messuage, but yet for the lands which he had conveyed to them, they were obliged to celebrate for him as a benefactor. The manor was settled on the college by Bishop Walter de Merton in 1270, as appears by this description of it by the founder in his second charter, and the title he added to it. Terr. et Red. quondam Rici Dunning & Wilkelmi de Manefeld, quos ipsi in Cantebrigia & Portibus adjacentibus mihi dimiserunt. And they were the chief persons the college was concerned with in the purchase.

The great difficulty is still behind, I mean the original use and destination of the building and by whom erected. That it was not designed for any religious purpose is plain, for its having no one part of it proper for an altar to be placed in, and its having only one entrance would be equally inconvenient. My first thoughts were, and I have not altered them, that it was a part of Picot's foundation for a prior and six canons: where the site being found too confined, Pagan Peverel removed them to Bernewelle; whosoever looks at St. Giles's Church, which has all the marks of one of our most ancient buildings, must be convinced, that could not be the site of Picot's foundation, both as the choir or church would be too small; but more especially, as it is bounded and hemmed in on two sides, the south and west, by the king's highway, and to the north by the precincts of, and

ascent to the castle. The way also from them to the river, must consequently have been across the road to Chesterton, which would have been inconvenient.

Possibly the priory might receive its denomination of St. Giles's from its vicinity to this parish church, even from the founders: in the same manner as Corpus Christi College acquires its usual one, from the adjoining church of St. Benedict.

But even allowing the situation of this priory to have been, where I would rather suppose it to have been placed, still they must have been much cramped and confined, which probably occasioned their removal; for on one side was the common road, and to east, a range of buildings constituting the street opposite Magdalene College; and to the south, a morass with a branch or cut of the river by it, now filled up. At present I conceive, nothing positive can be said on a subject too much in the dark, till farther discoveries are made to throw more light upon it.

However that may be, this building bids fairest to authenticate the antiquity of the university of Cambridge of any in the place, as it seems most likely to have been the structure where the Croyland monks gave their lectures to their scholars: and from them has retained the name of school, from that period to this very time.

The undercroft is exactly in the same stile of building with that given by T. Hearne for St. Grimbald's church, except in a plainer and more sober way, consequently more likely to be the antienter of the two; and that this has only a single row of pillars which run in a line from one end to the other, which by the plan and section taken by Mr. Richard West in 1739, and published by Mr. Masters some years after, seem to have their plinths or bases hidden and sunk into the ground. Of these pillars there are only five round and short with pilasters on each side and end, opposite to every one of them. The arches are semicircular, and spring from the pillars to the walls, which are of a great thickness, and contain on one side only four narrow windows.



CHESHIRE

Is a maritime county, on the eaſt ſide of the Iriſh ſea. Prior to the Introduction of the Romans, it was inhabited by the Cornavi, one of the principalities of the antient Britons. During the reſidence of the Roman governors, it was included in their third diviſion of Flavia Cæſarienſis: and during the Saxon Heptarchy it belonged to the kingdom of Mercia, which was the 7th eſtabliſhed, beginning in 582, and ending 827; having continued under 18 kings, till made ſubſervient to the Weſt Saxons under Egbert, who became ſovereign of the whole, when the name of England was given to the ſouth part of the iſland, except that part inhabited by the antient Britons, now called Wales. In 889, king Alfred divided his kingdom into 32 Counties, of which Cheſhire was the 30th. He alſo ſubdivided each county into hundreds and pariſhes. After the Norman conqueſt, the kingdom was divided into circuits, in which Cheſhire was not included, being erected into a County Palatine, with its peculiar privileges, ſuch as its own judge or juſtice, court of exchequer, which it yet retains, though of a mixed kind, &c. Its dioceſe is in the province of York, and includes the counties of Cheſhire, Richmondſhire (a part of Yorkſhire) Lancaſhire, and part of Cumberland. It is bounded on the North by Lancaſhire,

on the ſouth by Shropſhire, on the eaſt by Derbyſhire and Staffordſhire, and on the weſt partly by Flintſhire, Denbighſhire and the Iriſh ſea. It is 50 miles long, 30 broad, and 112 in circumference; containing 372,000 acres, 24,054 houſes, 125,000 inhabitants: it is divided into 7 hundreds, in which are only one city, Cheſter; 12 market towns, viz. Haulton, Frodſham, Altrincham, Knotsford, Nampwich, Macclesfield, Malpas, Middleſwich, Northwich, Congleton, Stockport, Sanbach; 670 villages, 101 pariſhes, 20 vicarages, provides 560 men to the militia, ſends 4 members to parliament, and pays 7 parts of the land-tax. Its chief rivers are the Merſey, Dee, Weelock, Croke, Dan, Fulbrook, Wever, Goyte, Bollin and Ringay; with the moſt extenſive and important inland canals in the kingdom, firſt begun by the Duke of Bridgewater, which conveys the country products, which are corn, ſalt, coals, iron, millſtones, alum, wood, hops, timber, cheeſe, &c. William the Conqueror, in 1070 made it an earldom and County Palatine, in favour of his nephew Hugh Lupus, to be held as he did the kingdom, by the ſword. Cheſter and Parkgate are the two greateſt thoroughfares to Ireland. Edgar the Saxon king of Mercia obliged eight of his tributary princes to row him and his attendants on the river Dee, from St. John's Church to his palace in Cheſter. The ſoil of the county is rich and fertile.

The Roman road enters this county from Mancheſter, (the Mancunium or Manucium of the Romans) which proceeds to Congleton, (the Condate) 18 miles diſtant; but the military way to it is not ſo viſible, as to make one ſanguine upon the diſcovery of it. There are two roads that lead from Mancheſter; one by Knotsford, the other nearer to Macclesfield; the firſt ſeems to have been the road, becauſe it paſſes by the fortreſs S. W. of Mancheſter; whereas the other does not approach it. At Congleton there are no remains to aſcertain the ſtation; from thence you go to Cheſter, (Deva) which is 20 miles, and agrees with the Itinerary of Antoninus. That this hath been a colony, is proved from inſcriptions and coins, and from the remains frequently diſcovered there: indeed here the 28 legion, called Valaria Victrix, was quartered. The road from Cheſter to Bangor, (Bovium) 10 miles, has been allowed by all Antiquarians to be Roman.

ANTIQUITIES in this COUNTY worthy notice.

Aſhbury Church
Beeſton Caſtle near Bunbury
Birkenhead Priory
Cheſter Cathedral, Chapter-houſe, Caſtle, Bridge, and Hypocauſt
Combermeer Abby near Nampwich
Haulton Caſtle
Holt's Caſtle
St. John's Church in Cheſter
Inc Ruins near Cheſter
Malpas Church
Norton Priory
Water Tower at Cheſter
Rudheath an antient Aſylum
Sanbach Church
Stockport Church

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J. Bonnor Circ.

Beetson Castle Cheshire.

Pub.d Feb.y 12.1784 by J. Hooper.

windows. The capitals are of no positive order, but of the plain style of the unornamented sort in Grymbald's crypt, and that under the choir of Canterbury Cathedral. It seems to me that the use of it might be in the last instance, whatever its original one was, to have been to read lectures of philosophy and the sciences in, and to have been made use of as schools of learning, with rooms over it for the same purpose, in various branches. If this is allowed, it will carry up the date to 1109, when the Benedictine monks from Croyland Abbey came to Cambridge for that intent: some few years after which, about 1112, the canons of St. Giles's left Cambridge for Bernewelle. On their retreat, it is no strained inference to suppose, that they might accommodate these professors with a building that would be so convenient to them, and was of no use to themselves; at their first coming hither they were contented with worse accommodations.

Mr. Gostling, in his account of the crypt under the choir of the cathedral of Canterbury, as Mr. Hearne in his of that under St. Grymbald's, seem to aim at very high antiquity in their respective relations of them. I can hardly suppose either of them so ancient as the tenth century: Hearne has a system to complete, which was never out of his head: but Mr. Gostling was of a soberer and more rational understanding. However their conjectures may turn out, or whatever may be the age of either of their crypts, it must be in favour of Pythagoras's school; for the same sort of building with pillars and arches of the same style, will equally prove, that this at Cambridge is of as high antiquity as either of the other. This view was drawn anno 1777.

BEESTON CASTLE. (Plate I.)

This castle, as appears not only from its present remains, but also from the testimony of Camden, was also strongly fortified by art, as well as almost inacceſſible by nature. His words are, "Beeston castle, a place well guarded by walls of a great com-

"pass,

" pass, by the great number of its towers, and by a mountain of " very steep ascent." Leland conceived so high an opinion of it, that he wrote, or rather repeated in some Latin verses, a kind of prophecy, which, however, does not seem very likely to be accomplished. These verses are thus translated by Bishop Gibson, in his edition of Camden.

Ranulph, returning from the Syrian land,
This castle rais'd his country to defend.
That borderer to fright and to command.

Though ruin'd here the stately fabric lies,
Yet with new glories it again shall rise,
If I a prophet may believe old prophecies.

The following account of this castle is given in the Vale Royal of Cheshire, published anno 1656, by Daniel King, and now become extremely scarce.

" And so we cannot here but stay to look on the next stately house and fine demesne of Beeston, the name both of the houses, the township, and that famous and far-seen castle, built there by the last Ranulph, the famous earl of Chester; and, without question, was a place, when such strong holds were in request, of admirable and impregnable strength. It is mounted upon the top of a very steep hill of stone, the chief tower whereof, in the very sumitty of it, had a draw-well of an incredible depth, to serve it with water; I have measured it, and notwithstanding that by the great number of stones, which from the ruinated walls those that repair thither do cast in, it is supposed the well in the outward to be half stopped up; yet it is of true measure ninety-one yards deep, and the other above eighty yards deep by M. S. and from that tower, a circular wall of a large compass, containing a fine plat of ground, where, in the circuit of it, and in the middest of that, another well, which yet, by the long descent of a stone before it falls down to the water, when you shall hear the fall of it of a huge depth; and the foot of the whole

wall

BRITISH MUSEUM
12 JUL 73



BEESTON CASTLE, Plᵗᵉ 2.ᵈ

wall standing so deep on every side, that saving one way up to the gates of the castle towards the east, and those very fair and stately, men can hardly find a footing to stand on any part of the said hill; concerning which, though I have no reason to fix my belief upon any, either idle prophecies, as they call them, or vain predictions of vulgar report; yet, neither will I be so scrupulous as not to make mention of the common word thereabouts used, that Beeston castle shall save all England on a day; nor so envious as not to take notice of old Leland's hold conjecture of the future exalting of the head of it in time to come; whereof I only say this, that I wish every man to look upon what grounds he gives credit to any old dreams. To the place I wish all good, and to the name of Beeston I could also wish a continuance as the castle stands, being now in the possession of an ancient knight, Sir Hugh Beeston, of much respect; but now, through want of issue male, like to pass into another name, the heir being now married to one of the younger sons of the honourable and aftermentioned knight and baronet Sir Tho. Savage." Although the time when the castle was built is not here specified, it must have been between the year 1180, when Ranulph became E. of Chester, and 1232, when he died. This view, which represents the great gate, or chief entrance into the castle, was drawn anno 1760.

(PLATE II.)

Since the printing of the 1st plate of this castle, in which I inserted the account of it as given in the Vale Royal of Cheshire, I have met with a more ancient description, written by Samson Erdeswicke, esq; and printed in 1593. Although this ought, in point of time, to have preceded the other, yet, as the Survey of Staffordshire, in which it is contained, is become extremely scarce, I imagine the reader will rather excuse the violation of order, than want the description; I, therefore, have here transcribed it.

"As in Staffordshire I have begun with Trent, so proceeding to the description of Cheshire, I think it my readiest course to begin with Weever, a fair river, which takes it first source or spring

to Peckforton Hills, near Beeston castle, and presently runneth, first S. E. then plain S. then bendeth S. E. again, then plain E. then turneth suddenly plain N. and so keepeth on its course, though it have diverse windings, sometimes westwards, and sometimes east, for 15 or 16 miles still northwards, and then returneth, as it were, suddenly west; which course it holdeth on, until it come into the Freet of Mersey, where it dischargeth itself into a pretty little sea, and, as Trent doth, divides the shire into two equal parts, E. and W. the one being called the Over side of Cheshire, and the other the Lower side. Not far from the fountain of Weever (as I have said) stands Beeston castle, which for that it was more eminent and famous than any particular part of the shire (the city of Chester excepted) I covet to begin withal; and you must something bear with me, if a little I range about the head of Weever, for 3 or 4 miles on both sides of the river: for that in that part of the shire the rivers be not so plentiful as in other places thereof: and besides the barony of Rob, filius Hugonis, being the first barony which is spoken of in Doomsday-Book, which therefore I covet to begin withal, lieth the most part of it about this part of Cheshire, and not far from Weever, between it and Dee, except some little of it which lies in Flintshire, then reputed as a member of the county palatine of Chester.

Beeston castle stands very loftily and proudly, upon an exceeding steep and high rock, so steep upon all sides but one, that it suffers no access unto it; so that though it be walled about, yet (for the most part thereof) the wall is needless, the rock is so very high and steep: and where the nature of the thing admitteth access, there is first a fair gate, and a wall furnished with turrets, which encloseth a good quantity of ground (4 or 5 acres) which lieth north-eastwards, somewhat riseth until it come to the over part of the rock, where is a great dike or ditch hewed out of the main rock, and within the same a goodly strong gate-house and a strong wall, with other buildings, which, when they flourished, were a convenient habitation for any great personage. In which it is a wonder to see the great labour that hath been used to have sufficient water; which was procured by, no doubt with great difficulty, a marvellous deep well

through

through that huge high rock; which is so deep, as that it equals in depth the riveret, which runneth not far from the said castle, through Tiverton, Hocknell, and so on to Mersey. This castle stands within the manor of Beeston; but the ground whereon it stands, was procured by Randulf, the 3d earl of Chester, from the owner of the said manor, to the end he might make and fortify the said castle there, which he did accordingly.

The manor of Beeston, whereof this place was a member before the castle was builded, is within the parish of Bunbury, possessed at this day by Sir Geo. Beeston, whose son and heir Hugh Beeston hath (as I hear) also purchased the castle of Beeston of the queen.

The Beestons are descended paternally from the Bunberyes, who (as I take it) were lords of the whole parish, or the most of it, about Hen. II's time; and were at the 1st known by the name of St. Peere, but (by reason of their habitation, and the seignory of Bunbury together) changed their name from St. Peere to Bunbury. As Hen. of Bunbury (to whom his father had given Beeston about K. Hen. III's time) had issue a son named David, who was called David de Beeston by reason of his habitation; which David had issue Hen. Beeston, who had issue David Beeston, Will. (that died without issue) Hen. that begat Tho. and Will. that had issue John, Raufe, and Agnes." From the accounts here given it appears, this castle was in decay when they were written; but its present ruinous condition shews the honourable scars of several vigorous attacks sustained by it during the last civil war. In the beginning of these troubles, this castle was seized for the parliament, but was attacked and taken Dec. 12th, 1643, by the king's forces, then just landed from Ireland. It appears the garrison made little or no defence; for Rushworth says, the governor, one Capt. Steel, was tried and executed for a coward. The parliamentarians afterwards attempted to retake it, and it was unsuccessfully besieged for 17 weeks, being bravely defended by Capt. Valet. On Prince Rupert's approach the enemy abandoned it, March 18th, 1644. In 1645 it was again attacked; and on the 16th of Nov. it surrendered on condition, after 18 weeks continual siege, in which the garrison were reduced to the necessity of eating cats, &c. The governor, Colonel Ballard (says Rushworth)

worth) in compassion to his soldiers, consented to beat a parly, whereupon a treaty followed; and having obtained very honourable conditions (even beyond expectation in such extremity) viz. to march out, the governor and officers with horses and arms, and their own proper goods (which loaded two wains) the common soldiers with their arms, colours flying, drums beating, matches alight, and a proportion of powder and ball, and a convoy to guard them to Flint castle; he did, on Sunday the 16th of Nov. surrender the castle, the garrison being reduced to not above 60 men, who marched away according to the conditions.

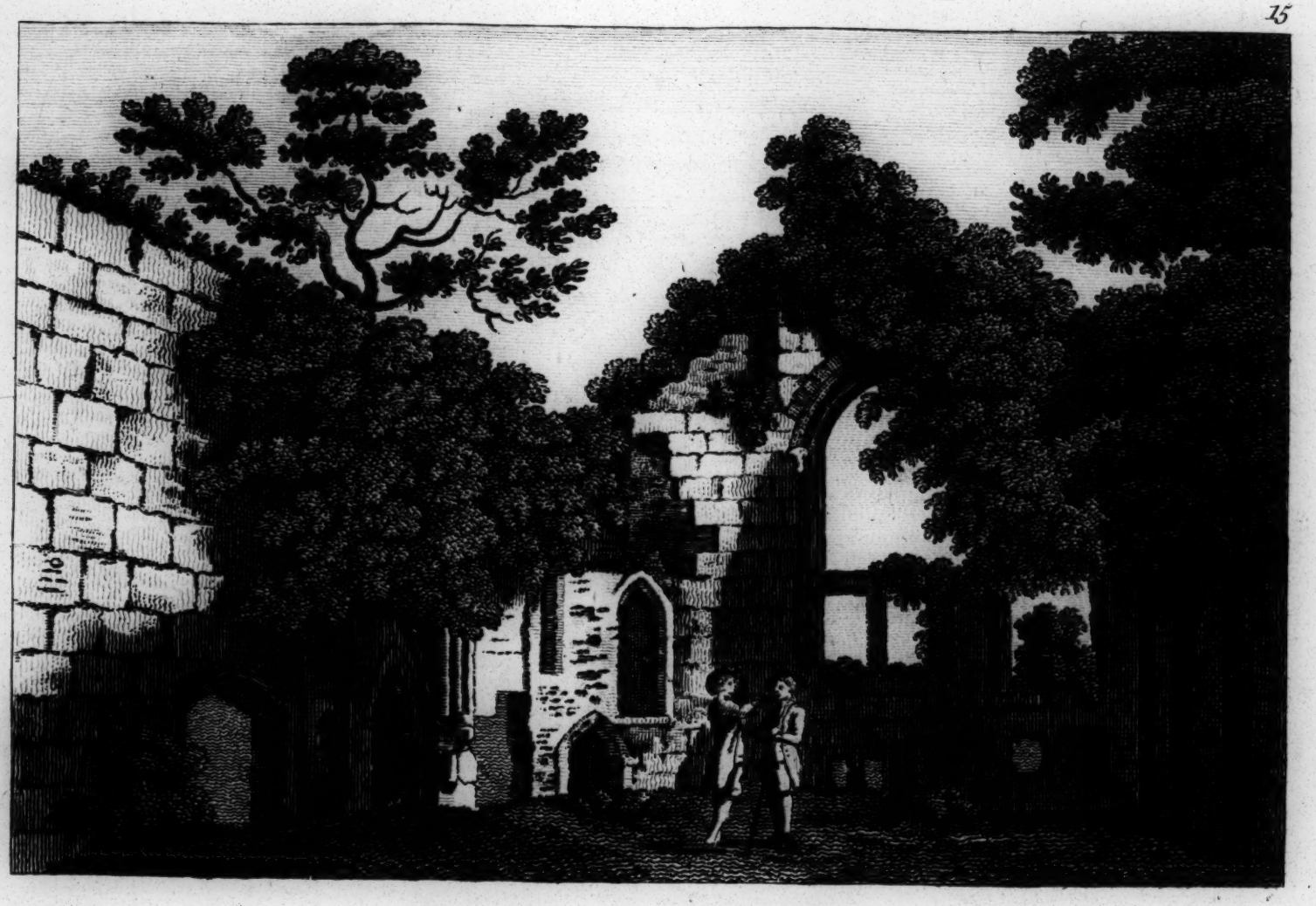
Many traces of these operations, such as ditches, trenches, and other military works, are still discernible in the grounds about it. The site and ruins of this castle at present belong to Sir Roger Moystn of Mostyn, in the county of Flint, Bart. This plate gives a general prospect of the ruins as they appear when seen from the south. It was drawn anno 1773. Plate I. presented a more particular view of the great gateway.

BIKKEHEDDE PRIORY.

This priory was, as appears from different writers, also called Bricheved, Byrket, and Burket-wood priory. It was founded in the latter end of the reign of Hen. II. or in that of Richard I. by Hammond Massey, third baron of Dunham Massey, who placed therein 16 Benedictine Monks. A manuscript in Corpus Christi college, Cambridge, makes them canons of the order of St. Augustine. It was dedicated to St. Mary and St. James.

In the Monasticon are two charters of the said Hammond Massey. In the first he grants to this monastery in free alms, half an acre of land at Dunham, and an acre at Lacheker, with the advowson of the church of Bowdon; and in the other, the liberty of choosing their own prior, granted before by Pope Alexander: from whence it seems, as if the papal permission for such election was not then sufficient without the confirmation of the patron.

At the dissolution, its revenues were estimated at 90*l.* 13*s.* per ann. according to Dugdale; 102*l.* 16*s.* 10*d.* Speed; its reputed value

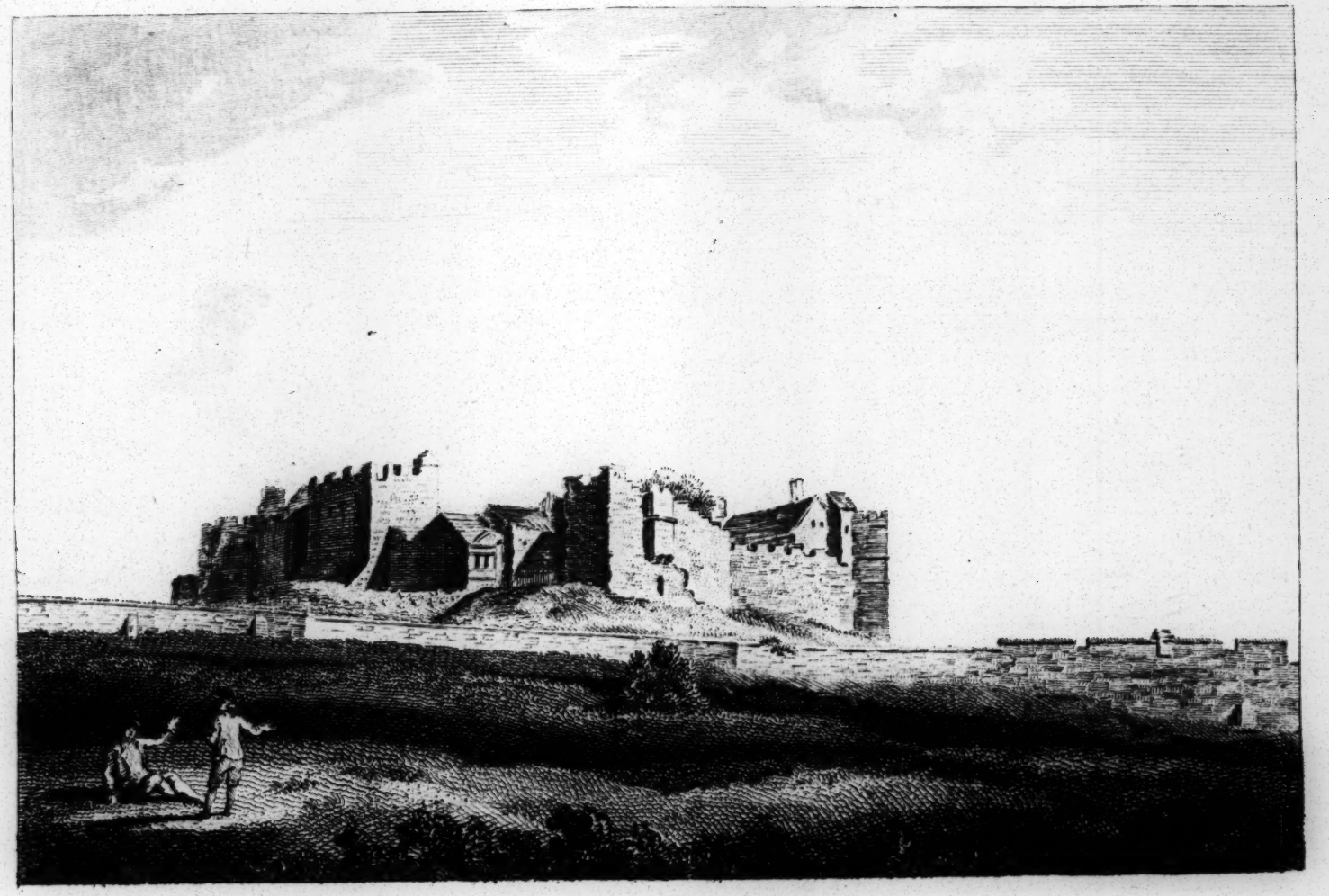


BIRKHEDDE PRIORY CHESHIRE.

Published 20 Oct 1783 by S. Hooper.

BRITISH MUSEUM
12 JU 73

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CHESTER CASTLE, Pl.t 1.

Published the 1st of June 1794 by S. Hooper.

value 108*l.* and by a MS. in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, it was only reckoned at 80*l.* In 36 Hen. VIII. it was granted to Ralph Worsley. This house is said by Leland to have been subordinate to the abbey of Chester; but Tanner does not subscribe to that opinion. "The grant of free election for a prior, the distinct valuation of its possessions, both in Tax. Lincoln. and 26 Hen. VIII. makes me doubt much, says he, whether this was a cell to Chester."

In the Vale Royal of England, published anno 1656, by Dan. King, there is a view of this priory, by which it is plain that much of the buildings have been demolished since the time when that was drawn. Annexed to it is the following account: "Where the passage lies over into Lancashire, unto Leaverpool, we step over into Berket wood, and where hath been a famous priory, the foundation whereof I am not yet instruct for; but now a very goodly demean, and which is come, by descent from the Worsleyes, men of great possessions, now to a gentleman of much worth, Thomas Powel, esq. the heir of that ancient seat of Horsley, in the county of Flint; and one whom our county may gladly receive, to be added to the number of those that deserve better commendation than I am fit to give them: though unto him I am particularly bound to extend my wits to a higher reach, then here I will make tryall of."

At present it is the property of Rich. Perry Price, esq. whose grandfather, Mr. Cleveland, purchased it of Mr. Powel. What is shewn in the view here represented, seems to have been part of the church or chapel of the priory. Towards the left hand, under the middle of the tuft of ivy, is the remains of a confessional seat, the entrance being through the Gothic arch: the small window was the aperture, at which the penitents related their transgressions to the priest. This drawing was made anno 1770.

CHESTER CASTLE. (Plate I.)

This castle, it is said, was either built or greatly repaired by Hugh Lupus, earl of Chester, nephew to William the Conqueror; it is twice described in the Vale Royal of England, published anno 1656, by Dan. King; as that book is extremely scarce, I shall here literally transcribe both passages.

" The castle of Chester standeth on a rocky hill, within the wall of the city, not far from the bridge: which castle is a place having privileges of itself, and hath a constable, the building thereof seemeth to be very ancient. At the first coming in is the gate-house, which is the prison for the whole county, having diverse rooms and lodgings; and hard within the gate is a house, which was sometime the exchequer, but now the custom-house; not far from thence, in the base-court, is a deep well, and thereby stables and other houses of office; on the left hand is a chapel, and hard by adjoining thereunto, the goodly fair, and large shire hall, newly repaired, where all matters of law, touching the county palatine, are heard and judiciously determined; and at the end thereof the brave new exchequer for the said county palatine; all these are in the base-court. Then there is a draw-bridge into the inner ward, wherein are diverse goodly lodgings for the justices, when they come, and here the constable himself dwelleth.

The thieves and felons are arraigned in the shire hall, and being condemned, are by the constable of the castle, or his deputy, delivered to the sheriffs of the city, a certain distance without the castle gate, at a stone called the Glovers-stone; from which place the said sheriffs convoy them to the place of execution, called Boughton." Again. " Upon the south side of the city, near unto the said water of Dee, and upon a high bank or rock of stone, is mounted a strong and stately castle, round in form; the base-court likewise, inclosed with a circular wall, which to this day retaineth one testimony of the Romans magnificence, having a fair and ancient square tower; which by the testimony of all writers I have hitherto met withall, beareth the name of Julius Cæsar's tower; besides which there remaineth yet many goodly pieces of buildings, whereof one of them containeth all fit and commodious rooms for the lodging and use of the honourable justices of assize twice a year; another part is a goodly hall, where the court of the common pleas and goal delivery, and also the sheriffs of the counties court, with other businesses for the county of Chester, are constantly kept and holden; and is a place for that purpose of such state and comeliness, that I think it is hardly equalled with any shire hall in any of the shires in England.

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12 JUL 73



CHESTER CASTLE PL.ᵗᵉ 2.ᵈ

Published the 9.ᵗʰ of June 1784 by S. Hooper.

And then next unto the south end of the hall is a less, but fair, neat and convenient hall, where is continually holden the princes highness most honourable court of exchequer, with other rooms, fitly appendant thereunto, for keeping of the records of that court. Within the precincts of which castle is also the king's prison for the county of Chester, with the office of prothonotary, convenient rooms for the dwelling of the constables, or keeper of the said castle and goal, with diverse other rooms for stabling and other uses, with a fair draw-well of water in the middest of the court; diverse sweet and dainty orchards and gardens, beside much of the ancient building, for want of use, fallen to ruine and decay, and which we may well conjecture were of great stateliness and great use, considering that the same castle was, as hereafter will appear, the pallace of many worthy princes, who kept therein, no doubt, great and most brave retinues; and I find that the castle, with the precincts thereof, were reserved out of that charter of K. Henry VII. by which the city was made a county of itself; and accordingly, hath ever since been used for the king's majesty's service of the county of Chester, and esteemed a part thereof, and not of the county of the city."

This castle is built of a soft reddish stone, which does not well endure the weather, and is at present much out of repair, several large pieces of the walls having lately fallen down into the ditch. Indeed its trifling consequence as a fortress, would hardly justify the expence of a thorough repair. It is, however, commanded by a governor and lieutenant governor, and is commonly garrisoned by two companies of invalids. This drawing was made anno 1770.

(Plate II.)

As this edifice cannot well be represented at one view, without taking it at so great a distance as would render the parts extremely indistinct and confused, this second prospect was judged necessary; which being drawn from the ditch within the walls of the city, shews some of the principal internal buildings, giving the beholder an idea of the ancient magnificence of this venerable pile. The church seen in the back ground is dedicated to the Virgin Mary, and called St. Mary's

St. Mary's of the castle. In and near the angle under the great window appears the rock on which the castle is founded.

In Peck's Desiderata Curiosa, Chester castle stands in the list of Q. Elizabeth's garrisons, with the following officers and salaries:

CHESTER.

	£.	s.	d.
Constable of the castle; fee - - - - -	6	13	4
Porter; fee - - - - -	4	11	3
Keeper of the gardens; fee - - - -	6	1	8
Surveyor of the works within Cheshire and Flint; fee -	6	1	8
Master mason; fee - - - -	8	12	4
Master carpenter; fee - - - - -	9	2	6

It still continues to be a royal garrison, and has a governor and lieutenant-governor, each at 10*s.* per diem; and two independent companies of invalids are stationed here. During the civil war under Charles I. Chester was besieged, and at length, Feb. 3, 1645, taken by the parliamentary forces commanded by Sir Will. Brereton; but the castle neither made any particular defence or separate capitulation. This drawing was made anno 1769.

CHESTER BRIDGE.

This bridge is more worthy of notice for its picturesque appearance, than remarkable for its antiquity; not but part of it is very ancient, though it appears to have been frequently repaired at different times, and with different materials; however, the greatest part of it is built with the same reddish stone as the castle. Very little is to be met with relative to this bridge in the county histories; it is slightly touched upon by Lee, in the Vale Royal of England, published by Dan. King, anno 1656, but neither the builder, the time of its erection, nor by whom it is repaired, is there mentioned. "The bridge-gate, says he, is at the south part of the city, at the entering of the bridge, commonly called Dee-bridge, which bridge is builded all of stone of eight arches in length: at the furthest end whereof is also a gate; and without that, on the other side of the water, the suburbs of the city, called Hond-bridge."

A MS.

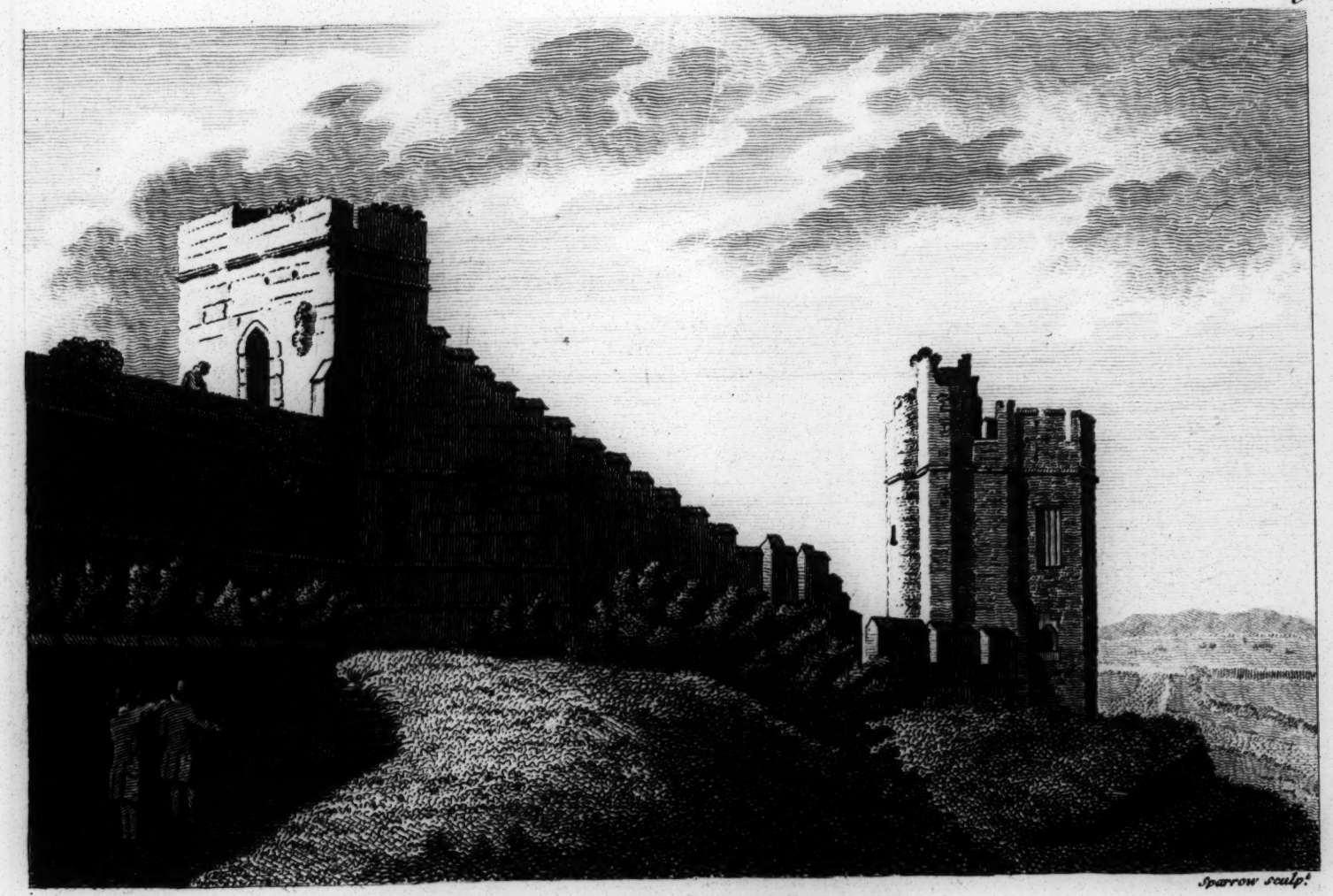


CHESTER BRIDGE.

Published the 24th of May by S. Hooper 1784.

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Sparrow Sculp.t

The NEW or WATER TOWER CHESTER.

Published Nov.r 7, 1783, by S. Hooper.

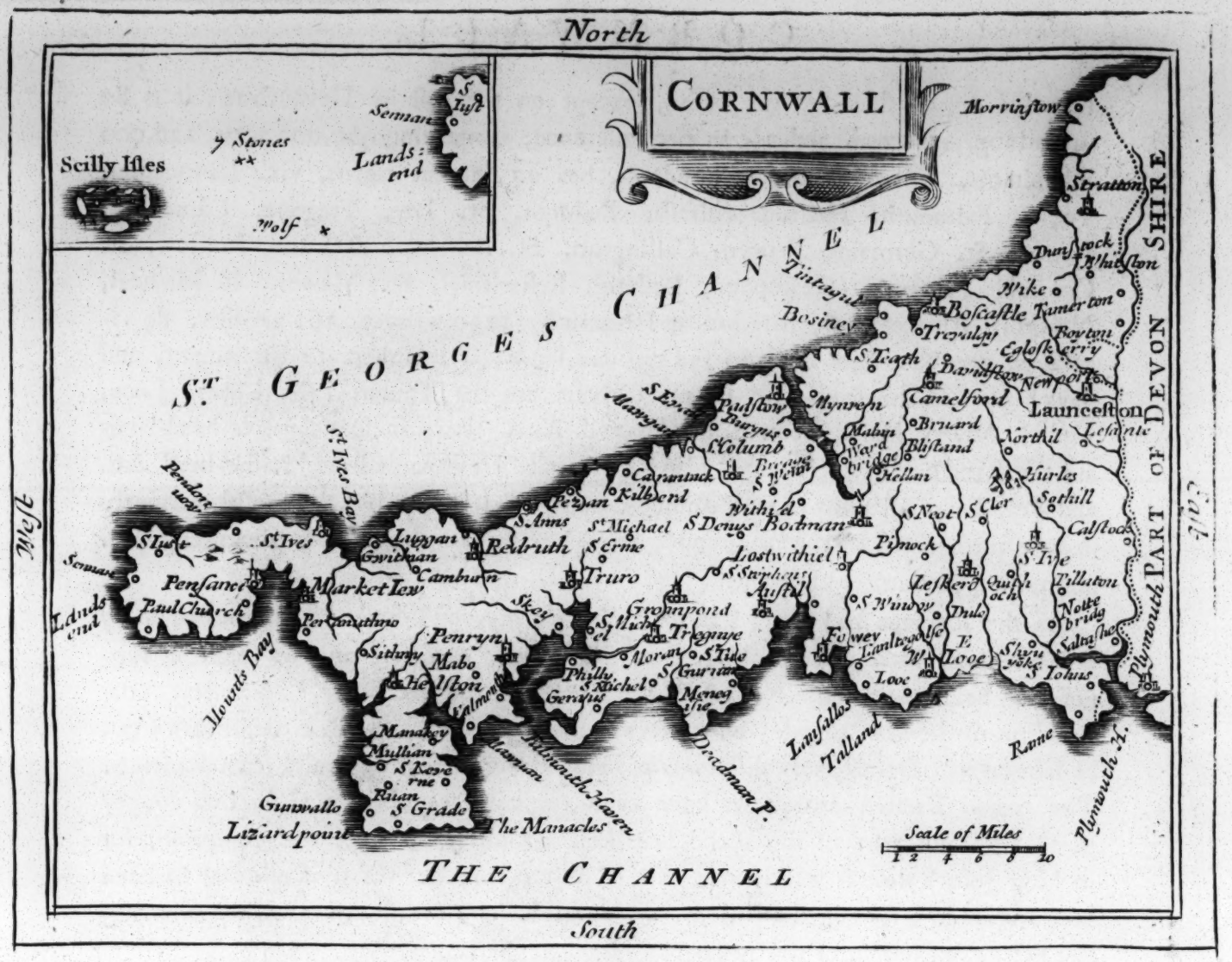
A MS. account of Chester, communicated by a friend, has the following passage relative to this bridge: "After the death of Elfleda, her brother Edward succeeded to the throne, who, fighting against the Danes, would have been taken prisoner, but for the unparalleled courage and activity of his son Athelstan. In the year after this engagement he visited his territories in Cheshire, and greatly secured them, by erecting fortresses at Thelwell and Manchester. He likewise finished the bridge over the river Dee at Chester, which was begun by his sister Elfleda, before which time there was a ferry for passengers under St. Mary's hill, at the Ship Gate. This view was drawn anno 1770.

NEW OR WATER TOWER, CHESTER.

THIS tower seems to have been built for the defence of a quay on the river Dee, which once flowed close to it, but is now so choaked up by sands, as to render it entirely useless for that purpose. It was built, according to the account given of it in King's Vale Royal of England, anno 1322, at the expence of the city, by one John Helpstone, a mason, who contracted to complete it, according to a given plan, for the sum of 100*l*. The indenture or agreement is preserved among the archives of the city.

The following description of it is given in another part of the same book: "From the N. gate, still westward, the wall extendeth to another tower, and from thence to the turning of the wall southwards; at which corner standeth another fine turret called the new tower, and was pitched within the channel of Dee-water; which new tower was built, as it is reported, in or near to the place in the river which was the key, whereunto vessels of great burden, as well of merchandize as others, came close up; which may the rather seem probable, as well by a deeper foundation of stone work yet appearing from the foot of that tower, reaching a good distance into the channel, as also by great rings of iron here and there fastened to the sides of the said tower, which, if they served not for the fastening of such vessels as then used to approach to the same key, I cannot learn what

other use they should be for." And again another passage in the same book says: "The Water-gate is in the W. side of the city, whereunto, in times past, great ships and vessels might come at full sea, but now scarce small boats are able to come, the sands have so choaked the channel; and although the citizens have bestowed marvellous great charges in building this new tower, which standeth in the very river between this gate and the N. gate, yet all will not serve; and therefore all the ships do come to a place called the new key, six miles from the city." The form of this tower is extremely singular, its outside being broken into a variety of angles, and those neither increasing its beauty, stability, or powers of defence. This view was drawn anno 1770.



CORNWALL

Is a maritime county on the extreme weſtern point of the Iſland, included in the principality of Danmonii of the antient Britons, and of Britannia Prima of the Romans. Hither the antient Britons (as well as in Wales) retired on the intruſion of the Saxons, where they oppoſed their further conqueſts. In this part of the Iſland they formed a kingdom that exiſted for many years after, under different princes, amongſt whom were Ambroſius Aurelius, and the juſtly celebrated Arthur; nor were they ſubdued till the middle of the 7th century, from which time Cornwall was conſidered as ſubject to the Weſt Saxon kings, who begun their ſovereignty in 519 and continued it till 828, under 18 ſovereigns, the laſt of whom was the great Egbert, who ſubdued all others, and by uniting them, formed the kingdom of England, when this county was included in the county of Devon, then the 9th diviſion; and that accounts for Alfred's not mentioning Cornwall, which on forming the circuits after the Norman conqueſt, is included in the weſtern circuit. Ever ſince Edward III. in 1337, who created his ſon Prince of Wales and Duke of Cornwall, it has been under the Prince's juriſdiction, who not only appoints the ſheriff, but all writs, deeds, &c. are in his name, and not in the king's; and he has alſo peculiar royalties and prerogative diſtinct from the crown, for which he appoints the officers. It is included in the dioceſe of Exeter, is

bounded on all ſides by the ocean, except on the eaſt by Devonſhire; it is 80 miles long, 40 broad, and 250 in circumference; containing 960,000 acres, 126,000 inhabitants, is divided into 9 hundreds, has 27 market towns, viz. Launceſton, Truro, Falmouth, Helſton, Saltaſh, Bodmyn, St. Ives, Tregony, Camelford, Fowey, St. Germains, Penryn, Callington, St. Auſtle, Eaſt Looe, Padſtow, St. Colomb, Penſance, Grampond, Leſkard, Leſtwithiel, St. Mawes, St. Michael, Newport, Market Jew, Stratton and Redruth; 1230 villages, 161 pariſhes, 89 vicarages, provides 640 men to the militia, ſends 44 members to parliament, and pays 8 parts of the land-tax. Its chief rivers are the Tamer, Fale, Cober, Looe, Camel, Fowey, Haile, Lemara, Kenſe, and Aire. Its principal capes or head-lands are the Land's-end, the Lizard, Cape Cornwall, Deadman's-head, Rame-head, &c. and a cluſter of iſlands, 145 in number, called the Scilly Iſles, ſuppoſed formerly to have been joined to the main land, though now 30 miles diſtant; abounding with antiquities, particularly Druidical.

As the Romans had but 2 ſtations in this county, and thoſe not determined on by Antiquarians, little can be ſaid concerning them, but that one of them is ſuppoſed to be Totneſs, (the Nidum of the Romans) and the other Launceſton, (the Bomium of the ſame people) but as this is merely conjecture, little dependance can be lain on it. Dr. Stukely mentions a Roman amphitheatre 3 miles from Redruth. The reaſon Roman antiquities have been neglected or obliterated in this county is, that all this part of the iſland has been a foreſt even ſince the conqueſt; for in king John's time it was appointed to be diſforeſted; but yet it is allowed to have been habitable before by the Britons, who retired here on the inroad of the Romans, and the incroachment of the Saxons.

ANTIQUITIES in this COUNTY worthy notice.

Boſcajall Caſtle in the Pariſh of St. Juſt
Boſiney Caſtle near Camelford
St. Burien's Church near Penſance
Carn Brea Caſtle near Redruth
The Cheeſe-ring near St. Clair
Choon Caſtle near Morva
Ethy Church near Fowey
Fowey Caſtle
St. German's Priory near Saltaſh
The Giant's Hedge near Weſt-Looe
The Holed Stone near Penſance
The Hurlers near Bodmin
Kernejack Caſtle in the pariſh of St. Juſt
Kimick Caſtle near Bodmin
Launceſton Caſtle
Leſtormel Caſtle near Leſtwithiel
Leſtwithiel Palace
St. Mawe's Caſtle, Falmouth-Harbour
St. Michael's Mount
St. Neot's Church near Leſkard
Pellin Caſtle near Leſtwithiel
Pendennis Caſtle, Falmouth Harbour
Pengarſick Caſtle near Helſton
Pentilley Caſtle near Saltaſh
The Rocking ſtone near St. Levan
Roundago near Penſance
The Siſter's Druidical Monuments near Wadebridge
Stone Deities in the Village of Men Perheen
Tintagal Caſtle near Boſiney
Trematon Caſtle near Saltaſh
Trereen Caſtle near St. Levan
Wadebridge near Padſtow

BRITISH MUSEUM 12 JU 73

There are Saxon or Daniſh encampments at Trereen, near the Barton of Hall, and in the Pariſh of Sancred; and on St. Mary's iſland, one of the iſles of Scilly, are ſeveral antiquities, particularly a Druidical temple, conſiſting of immenſe ſtones placed upon one another, called the Giant's Caſtle, the Giant's cave; and ſeveral tumulis. There are ſome antiquities on the other iſlands.

BRITISH
12 JU 73
MUSEUM



Pub. 23 June 1784. by S. Hooper.

Reſtormel Caſtle Cornwal.

CORNWALL.

RESTORMEL CASTLE.

WILLIAM of Worcester, a monk who wrote an Itinerary the latter end of the fifteenth century, mentions this castle by the name of Reformel Castle: all he says of it is, that it is situated between the towns of Lastydielle and Lanceston.

It is also described by Leland in his Itinerary, vol. iii. page 17, thus: "The park of Restormel is hard by the north side of the town of Lostwithiel.—Tynne workes in this Parke.—Ther is a castel on an hill in this park, wher sumtymes the erles of Cornewal lay. The base court is sore defaced. The fair large dungeon yet stondith. A chapel cast out of it a newer work then it, and now onrofid. A chapel of the Trinitie in the park not far from the castelle." And in vol. vii. p. 122, a. "The little round castel of Lestormel standith in the kinge's park ny to Loswithiel."

Borlace, in his history of Cornwall, gives an elevation of the inside of this castle fronting the entrance, accompanied with a plan and the following description: "One of the principal houses of the earles of Cornwall, was Restormel Castle, about a mile north of the town of Lostwythiel.

This castle stands not on a factitious hill, for the architect finding a rocky knoll on the edge of a hill overlooking a deep valley, had no more to do than to plane the rock into a level, and shape it round by a ditch, and the keep would have elevation enough, without the trouble of raising an artificial hill, (like that at Trematon) for it to stand on." The base court was sore defaced, as Leland says, in his time; some few ruins were to be seen in the lower part, (in Mr. Carew's time) where the ditch is very wide and deep, and was formerly filled with water, brought by pipes from an adjoining hill;

on

on the higher side also, leading to the principal gate, there are traces of building to be found.

The keep is a very magnificent one; the outer wall or rampart is an exact circle, a hundred and ten feet diameter within, and ten feet wide at the top, including the thickness of the parapet, which is two feet six.

From the present floor of the ground-rooms to the top of the rampart is twenty-seven feet six, and the top of the parapet is seven feet higher, garretted quite round.

There are three stair-cases leading to the top of the rampart, one on each side of the gateway, ascending from the court within, and one betwixt the inner and outermost gate.

The rooms are nineteen feet wide, the windows mostly in the innermost wall; but there are some very large openings (in the outmost wall, or rampart) now walled up, shaped like Gothic church windows, sharp arched, which were formerly very handsome and pleasant windows, and made to enjoy the prospect, their recesses reaching to the planching of the rooms: these large openings are all on the chamber floor (where the rooms of state seem to have been) and from the floor of these chambers you pass on a level to the chapel.

This chapel is but twenty-five feet six, by seventeen feet six; but that it might be the more commodious, there seems to have been an anti-chapel. This chapel, as Leland well observes, is a newer work than the castle itself; and I may add, that the gateway and the large windows in the rampart wall, are also more modern than the keep, for they were not made for war and safety, but for pleasure and grandeur; and yet, as modern as these compared with the rest may appear, they must at least be as ancient as Edmund, son of Richard king of the Romans (temp. Ed. I.) for since his death, I cannot find that any earl of Cornwall resided here.

Richard king of the Romans kept his Court here, and in all probability made these additions, temp. Hen. III.

The offices belonging to this castle, lay below it in the bass court, where signs of many ruins to the north and east are still apparent, and with the ruins on either hand as you come towards the great gate

from

from the west, shew that this castle was of great extent; there was an oven (as Mr. Carew says) of fourteen feet largeness among the ruins in the bass court, and may serve to give us some idea of the hospitality of those times.

This noble keep still holds up the shell of its turreted head, but within equals the ruinous state of the bass court below, over both which the following is Mr. Carew's lamentation, in his somewhat antiquated but nervous style.

" Certes (says he, p. 138) it may move compassion, that a palace so healthful for air, so delightful for prospect, so necessary for commodities, so fair, in regard of those days, for building, and so strong for defence, should in time of secure peace, and under the protection of its natural princes, be wronged with those spoilings, than which it could endure no greater at the hands of a foreign and deadly enemy; for the park is disparked, the timber rooted up, the conduit pipes taken away, the roof made sale of, the planchings rotten, the walls fallen down, and the hewed stones of the windows, dournes and clavels plucked out to serve private buildings; only there remaineth an utter defacement to complain upon this unregarded distress." (a)

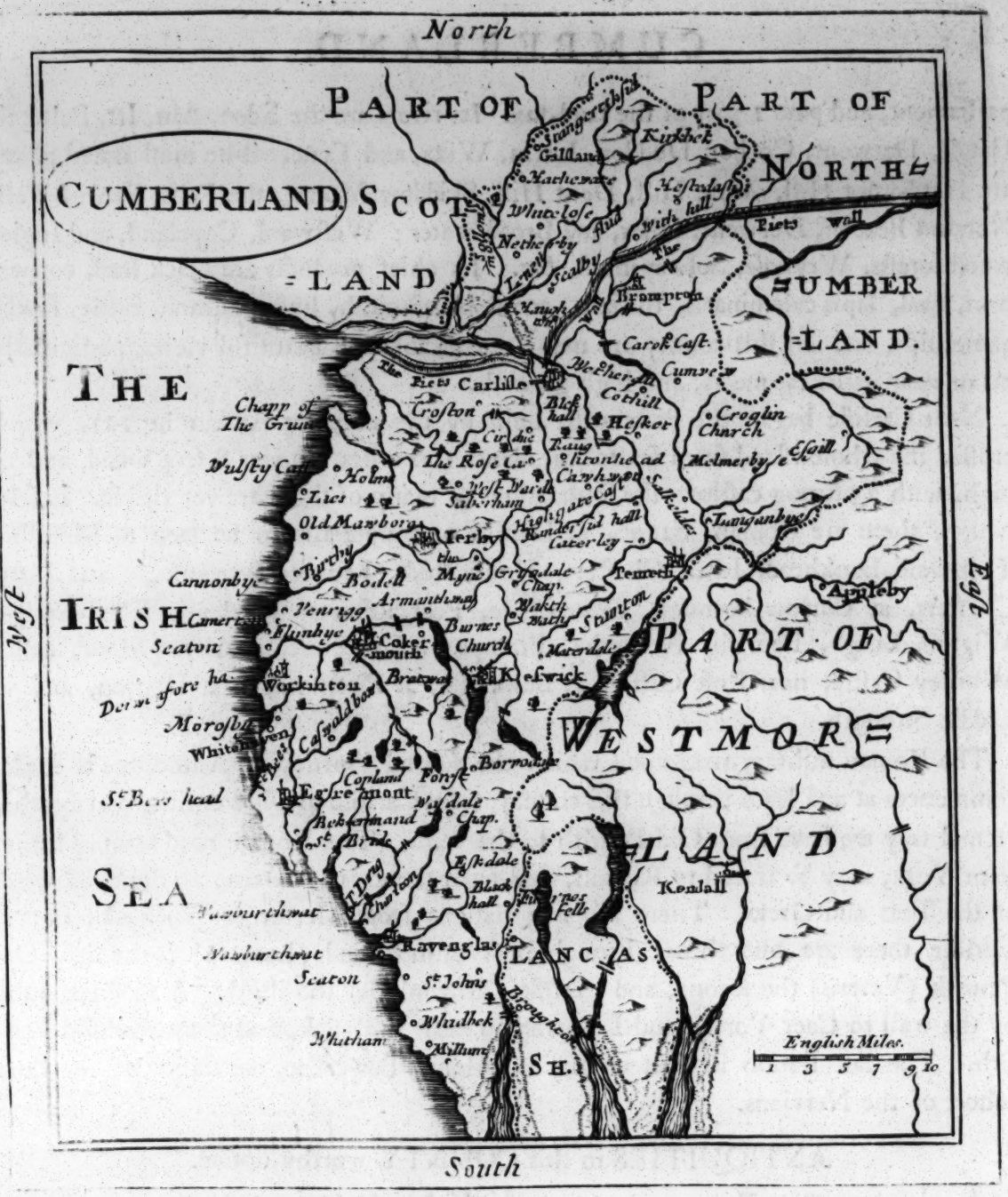
" The castle and honour has never been alienated, as far as I have learned, from the inheritance of the dukes and earls of Cornwall. There was a park round it, well wooded, and suitable to the quality of the ancient owners; but with several other parks in this county (there having been formerly belonging to this earldom nine parks, and one chace or forest) disparked by Henry VIII. at the instance of Sir Richard Pollard."

In the act of Resumption, 4th Edward IV. it appears, that William Sayer was on the third of March, in the preceding year, appointed to the offices of constableship of the king's castle of Rostormell and parkership of the same.

(a) I think this castle must have been built since the Norman conquest; for in the Exeter Domesday it is not named, nor in a list of the earl of Moreton's lands and castles, communicated by Francis Gregor, Esq. from a MS. in the Ashmolean library among the Dugdale MSS.

This castle and park is held of the duchy of Cornwall, under a lease for three lives, by William Masterman, Esq. member of parliament for Bodmyn; his immediate predecessor in this possession, Thomas Jones, Esq. was at a considerable expence in clearing the building from the rubbish and bushes with which it was encumbered and over-run; a laudable example he has strictly followed by giving great attention to the production and preservation of this venerable piece of antiquity, which before had, for time out of mind, been abandoned to the depredations of the under-tenants.

This view was drawn from an original picture, the property of Mr. Masterman.



CUMBERLAND

Is a maritime county, which, prior to the arrival of the Romans, was included in the diviſion of the Brigantes; and, after their conqueſt, was compriſed in their fourth province of Maxima Cæſarienſis, which extended from the Humber to the Tyne. During the Heptarchy, it belonged to the kingdom of Northumberland, which was the fifth eſtabliſhed, beginning 547, and ending 827; having had 31 kings, and is now included in the northern circuit, in the province of York, and dioceſe of Carliſle. It is bounded on the north by Scotland, on the ſouth by Lancaſhire and Weſtmoreland, eaſt by Northumberland and Durham, and weſt by the Iriſh ſea. It is 78 miles long, 30 broad, and 200 in circumference, containing 1,040,000 ſquare acres; has 75,000 inhabitants; one city, Carliſle; and 14 market towns; viz. Penrith, Cockermouth, Whitehaven, Egremont, Keſwick, Ravenglaſs, Alncaſter, Holme, Brampton, Alſton-Moor, Ireby, Kirk-Oſwald, Longtown, and Wigton; it has 56 pariſhes, 77 vicarages, 447 villages, is divided into 6 wards, provides 320 men to the national militia; ſends 6 members to

parliament,

parliament, and pays 1 part of the land-tax. Its rivers are the Eden, Aln, Irt, Petterel, Caude, Derwent, Cocker, Duddon, Levin, Wiza, and Tyne. The moſt noted places are Hard-knot Hill, Mole Hill, Dent Hill, Skiddow Mount, the Fells, Penrith Fell, Newton Beacon, Derwent, Uller, and Broad-water; Weſtward, Copeland, and Inglewood foreſts, Wrynoſe, Solway-moſs, &c. Its chief products are black lead, copper, iron, coal, lapis calaminaris, fuſtians, coarſe broad-cloth, linen, ſalmon, cattle, fowls, game, fiſh, &c. In this county are many remarkable and beautiful views, particularly on or near its lakes, meers, and high grounds.

Near Carliſle began the Picts wall, built by the emperor Adrian in 121, which croſſed the whole iſland from ſea to ſea, about 100 miles. It was 8 feet broad, and 12 high, with 25 ſtrong caſtles: the foundations of many of them are yet viſible. Beſides which, there are Roman, Saxon, or Daniſh encampments to be ſeen at Moreſby, Thirlwall, Bankhead, Little-Cheſters, Houſe-ſtuds, between Seavenſhale and Little Cheſters, at Carrow-borough, Seavenſhale, Portgate near Hexham, Elenborough, Wigton, Burgh, Penrith, Netherby, Brampton, Lanecroft, at Alſton Moor, called Whitley Caſtle, near Roſe Caſtle, at Bewcaſtle, at Deerham, near Denton, and at Liddle Strength.

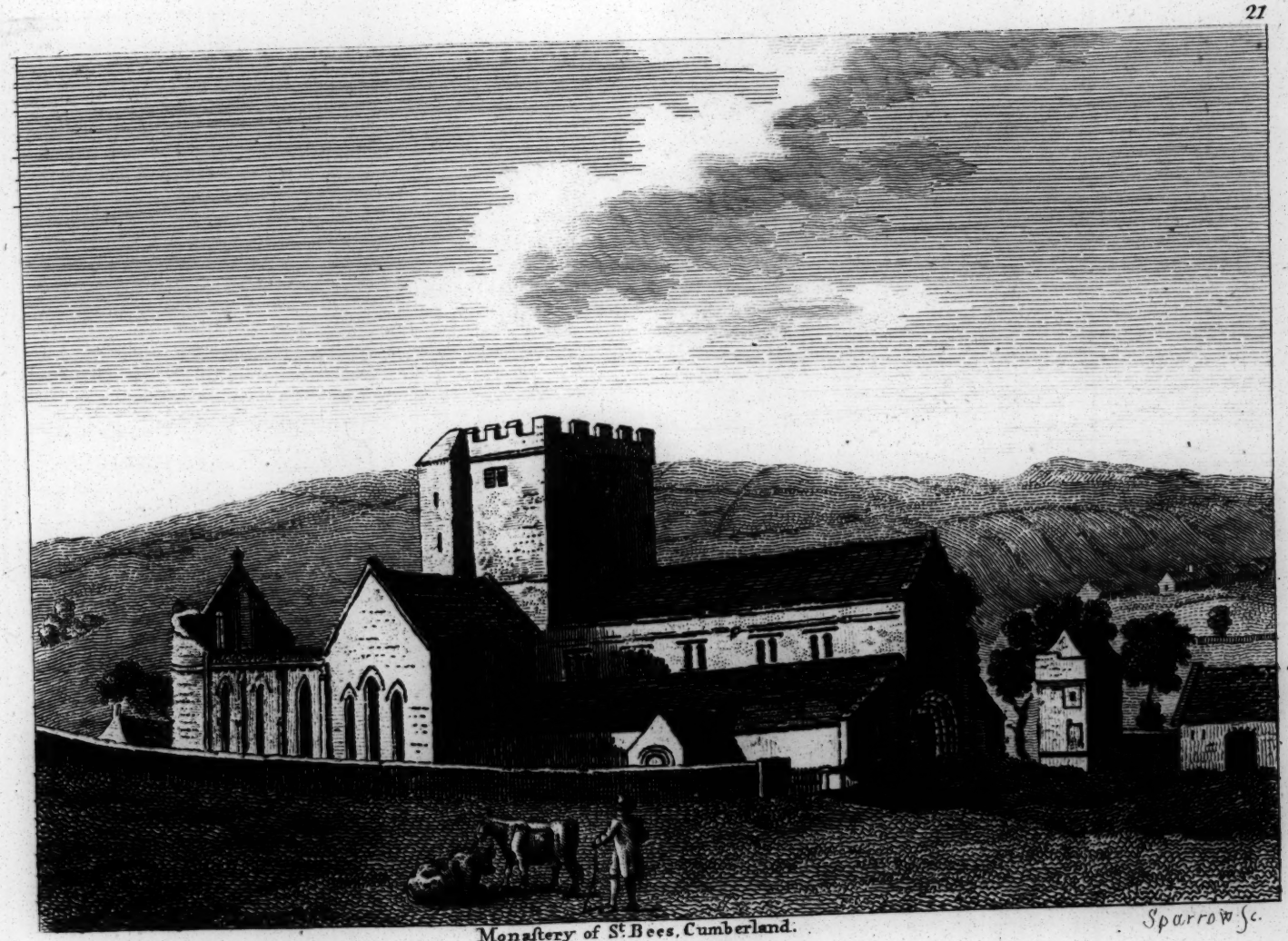
The Roman military road upon which the ſecond journey of Antoninus is made, commences at and leads through this county, from Carliſle to Old Penrith; and another vicinal way we have from Old Penrith to the wall. The Roman road leading hither from York, may be traced to Rippon, and from thence to Merton, at the confluence of the Tees and Greta. There are five ſtations from Merton to Walwick; but to Carliſle there are but three: Brough in Weſtmoreland (Lavatris) is the firſt, Old Penrith (Veteris) the ſecond, and Carliſle (Brovoniacis) the third. A road goes alſo by the wall to Caer Vorren and Luguvallain near Walwick, and thence to Old Penrith. The laſt ſtation in this county is (Alone) Bewcaſtle, the ſtation of the third cohort of the Nervians.

ANTIQUITIES in this COUNTY worthy notice.

St. Bees' Priory, near Egremont
Bewcaſtle, and the Croſs in the Church Yard
Boulneſs Font
Bride Church Fort
Calder Priory, near Egremont
Carliſle Cathedral and Caſtle
Caſtle Studs, in Old Penrith
Cockermouth Caſtle
Corby Caſtle, near Carliſle
Dacre Caſtle, near Penrith
Daniſh Chapel at Ditto
Deerham Church, near Cockermouth
Drumburg Caſtle, five miles from Whitehaven
Dunwalloght Caſtle, near Nether Denton
Egremont Caſtle, near St. Bees
Ewanrigg, near Elneburgh
Grotto near Penrith
Hay Caſtle, near Moreſby
High-head Caſtle, near Ireby
Holme Cultram Abbey
Iſis Parliſh, a grotto near Penrith
Kirk Oſwald, near Ditto
Lanecroft Priory, near Naworth
Long Meg and her daughters, near Kirk Oſwald
Millum Caſtle
The Moat, near Brampton
The Monument, near Caſtle Rigg
Naworth Caſtle
Nunnery near Kirk Oſwald
Pap Caſtle
Penrith Caſtle
Old Penrith, near Kirk Oſwald
Picts Holes, near Moreſby
Picts Wall
Roſe Caſtle, ſix miles from Carliſle
Scaleby Caſtle
Warwick Church
Wetherall Priory and Cells
Wigton Church

12 JU 73

BRITISH
12JU 73
MUSEUM



Monastery of St Bees, Cumberland.

Pub.1st March 1784. by S. Hooper.

Sparrow Sc.

CUMBERLAND.

THE MONASTERY OF ST. BEES.

THE following account of the foundation and endowment of this house is in substance given in the History of Westmoreland and Cumberland, by Joseph Nicholson, Esq. and the Reverend Richard Burn, LL. D.

St. Bees had its name from Bega, an holy woman of Ireland, who is said to have founded here, about the year 650, a small monastery, where afterwards a church was erected to her memory; this church was formerly called Kirkby Begock, or Begoth, from the British words BEG and OG, signifying little and young.

This house being destroyed by the Danes was restored by William de Meschiens, son of Ranulph, and brother to Ranulph de Meschiens first earl of Cumberland, after the conquest, who made it a cell to the abbey of St. Mary's at York, consisting of a prior and six Benedictine monks, and by his charter granted to God and St. Mary of York, St. Bega and the monks serving God there, all the woods within their boundaries, and every thing within the same, except hart and hind, boar and hawk; and all liberties within their bounds, which he himself had in Copeland, as well on land as water, both salt and fresh.

Ranulph de Meschiens, son to the said William, granted and confirmed to the abbey of St. Mary, York, all his father's grants, and namely the church of St. Bee, and seven carrucates of land there; and the chapel of Egremont; and the tithe of his demesne in Copeland, and all his men inhabiting therein, and of all his fisheries in Copeland, and the tithe of his hogs, and of his venison throughout his whole forest of Copeland, and also of his pannage, and of his

vaccaries

vaccaries throughout all Copeland; and also the manner of Anendale: and the grant which Waltheof made to them of the church of Steinburn; and Preston, which they have by the gift of Ketel; and two bovates of land, and one villein in Rotington, which Reiner gave unto them; and the churches of Whittington and Botele, which they have of the gift of Goddard; and Swarthoft, given to them by William de Lancastre, son of Gilbert: and he grants to them all the woods within their boundaries, from Cunningshaw to the sike between Preston and Hensingham, which runs to Whiteshoven and there falls into the sea; and whatever they can take in those woods, except hart, hind, boar and hawk.

And William de Fortibus earl of Albemarle, by his charter grants and confirms to God and the Church of St. Bees in Copeland, and the monks serving God there, all his ancestors grants, that is to say, fourteen salmons, which they have by the gift of Alan, son of Waltheof; and by the same gift half a carrucate of land in Aspatric; and six salmons, which they have by the gift of Alice de Romely; and half a mark of silver by the same donation, out of the fulling mill at Cockermouth, and one messuage in the same ville. He further grants to them one mark of silver out of the said fulling mill yearly.

It was endowed at the dissolution with 143*l.* 17*s.* 2*d.* ob. per annum according to Dugdale; 149*l.* 19*s.* 6*d.* Speed; and in the seventh year of the reign of King Edward VI. was granted to Sir Thomas Chaloner, knt. (amongst other particulars) the manor, rectory and cell of St. Bees, with all its rights, members and appurtenances, and all the possessions belonging to the same, in St. Bees and Enerdale, and elsewhere in the county of Cumberland (not before granted away by the crown) to hold to the said Thomas Chaloner, his heirs and assigns, in fee farm for ever, of the king, his heirs and successors, as of his manor of Sheriffs Hutton in Yorkshire, in free and common soccage, by fealty only, and not in capite; paying to the crown yearly the fee farm rent of 143*l.* 16*s.* 2*d.*

In

In the 4th and 5th of Philip and Mary, the king and queen granted to Cuthbert bishop of Chester and his successors, the said yearly rent, paying thereout to the crown yearly 43*l.* 8*s.* 4*d.*

The manor and rectory came afterwards into the possession of the Wyberghs, a very ancient family at St. Bees, who being great sufferers in the civil wars in the reign of Charles I. they mortgaged St. Bees to the Lowther family, and in the year 1633, Sir John Lowther fore-closed the mortgage, and obtained a decree in chancery of the estate, in whose family it still continues.

Anno 1705 the church of St. Bees was certified at 12*l.* a year, by James Lowther of Whitehaven, then impropriator.

This monastery lies in a bottom about four miles south-west from Whitehaven, and about one north from Egremont; the chief remains are those of the conventual church, which is now used as a parochial one. The arches of this building are all pointed, except that over the west door, which is circular, and has zig-zag mouldings and ornaments of heads similar to those on the door of Ifley Church in Oxfordshire. The key-stone seems to have represented the head of Christ, the windows in the chancel are long and extremely narrow.

Within the body of the church on the south side is an effigy in wood of Anthony the last Lord Lucy of Egremont, which, if a true portraiture, shews him to have been a large bodied man, upwards of six foot high, and proportionally corpulent.

The vicarage house appears to have been constructed out of the ruins of the monastery, and stands a little to the south-west of it. Southward of the church are many foundations, which make it probable the offices extended that way. In the church-yard, on the south side of the church, are the almost shapeless trunks of the figures of two knights; one holding a shield, and the other with his hands joined, as in the attitude of praying. They are broken off at the knees, and much defaced by time.

A small distance east of the church stands the grammar school, founded by Dr. Edmund Grindal, archbishop of Canterbury. It has a library to it, and has been much improved by the donations of Dr. Lamplugh, late archbishop of York, Dr. Smith, late bishop of

Carlisle, Sir John Lowther, and others. The right of nominating the master, is in the provost and fellows of Queen's College, Oxford.

The village of St. Bees lies a quarter of a mile south of the monastery. The way to it is over a bridge lately repaired, but having on it the date 1588, with the initials R. G. This view, which shews the north-west aspect of the church, was drawn 1774.

CARLISLE CASTLE.

THIS Castle stands on the north-west side of the city of Carlisle, which it is said existed before the coming of the Romans; being, according to our ancient Chronicles, built by a king named Luel, or Lugbul; whence it was stiled by the ancient Britons Caer-Luel, or Luel's city. It is encompassed on the north side by the river Eden, on the east by the Petterel, and on the west by the Caude. Probably a spot so strong by nature was not destitute of a fortress during the time of the Romans, when, as appears from the many inscriptions and ancient utensils digged up hereabouts, Carlisle was a place of much estimation: but the present castle was the work of William Rufus, built about the year 1093, two hundred years after the city had been destroyed by the Danes.

King William at first placed herein a colony of Flemings; and afterwards removing these to the Isle of Anglesea, he sent in their stead a number of husbandmen from the south to instruct the inhabitants in the art of cultivating their lands. King Henry I. is said to have increased the fortifications of the city, and to have strengthened it with a garrison; he also raised it to the dignity of an episcopal see, granting it many privileges and immunities, with intention to render it strong and populous, it being an important barrier against the incursion of the Scots. In the reign of Henry III. that prince gave the custody of the castle and county to Robert de Veteri Ponte, or Vipont.

According to Camden, the castle was rebuilt, or much repaired by King Richard III. whose arms, he says, were set up against it.

Probably



Carliſle Caſtle. By S Hooper.

Sparrow Sculp.

Published 1 Apr. 1783.

BRITISH
12 JU 73
MUSEUM

Probably these repairs became necessary, from the damage it suffered in the great fire, anno 1292, in which, the Chronicle of Lanercost Abbey says, it was burned down, together with the cathedral and suburbs: or it might, at length, have become ruinous from the assaults it had sustained from the Scots, by whom it was often besieged, and twice taken; once in the reign of King Stephen; and retaken by King Henry II. and again, in the time of King John.

King Henry VIII. caused several additions to be made to the fortifications of this town and castle: and Queen Elizabeth built the chapel and barracks, as appears by her arms placed thereon. This castle is of an irregular figure, having a strong gate-house, and three small square towers, of little or no use in the present mode of defence. These communicate with a rampart and parapet, for the ascent of which there are several flights of steps.

The keep stands on the east side. It is built of reddish stone, and now used for a store-house. It is separated from the castle-yard by a ditch on its west side; which ditch is defended by a curious round bastion. In the inner gate of the castle is still to be seen the old portcullis. Here are likewise several ancient guns mounted on rotten and unserviceable carriages. This fortress suffered some injury during the civil wars in the reign of King Charles I. and was battered and taken by the duke of Cumberland in the rebellion of 1745. The breach caused by the duke's batteries, which were planted on a rising ground to the west, at near five hundred yards distance, are now repaired; for which purpose the inside of the south wall has been stripped of its facing.

Here were several embrasures raised with earth, most of the batteries being originally en barbette. Here the unfortunate Mary Queen of Scots lodged, when she fled from Scotland. Her apartments are still shewn among the admiranda of the castle.

It is said (says Burn) that King Henry VIII. built the citadel of Carlisle: however, be that as it may, it is certain both that and the rest of the fortifications were greatly gone to decay in the reign of Queen

Queen Elizabeth, as appears by the following return to a commission of enquiry for that purpose, viz.

" CERTIFICATE of the decays of the castle, town and citadel of Carlisle, by Walter Strykland, Richard Lowther, John Lamplugh, Anthony Barwick, Alan Bellingham and Thomas Denton, Esqrs. appointed commissioners for the same, June 12, 1563.

DECAYS WITHIN CARLISLE CASTLE.

First, the dungeon tower of the castle, which should be principal part and defence thereof, and of the town also, on three sides is in decay, that is to say, on the east and west sides in length sixty-six foot, and on the south side sixty-six foot in decay; and every of the same places so in decay, do contain in thickness twelve foot, and in height fifty foot: so as the same dungeon tower is not only unserviceable, but also in daily danger to fall, and to overthrow the rest of the said tower.

Item, there is a breach in the wall in the outer ward, which fell 12 March, 1557, containing in length sixty-nine foot and a half, in thickness nine foot, and in height with the battlement eighteen foot; through which breach men may easily pass and repass.

Item, the captain's tower, another principal defence, wanteth a platform, and the * vawmer about forty-four foot, in breadth forty foot, and in thickness eight foot.

Item, three parts of the walls of the inner ward is not vawmer, containing in length three hundred and forty-four foot, and in thickness twelve foot, and in height three foot, with one half round.

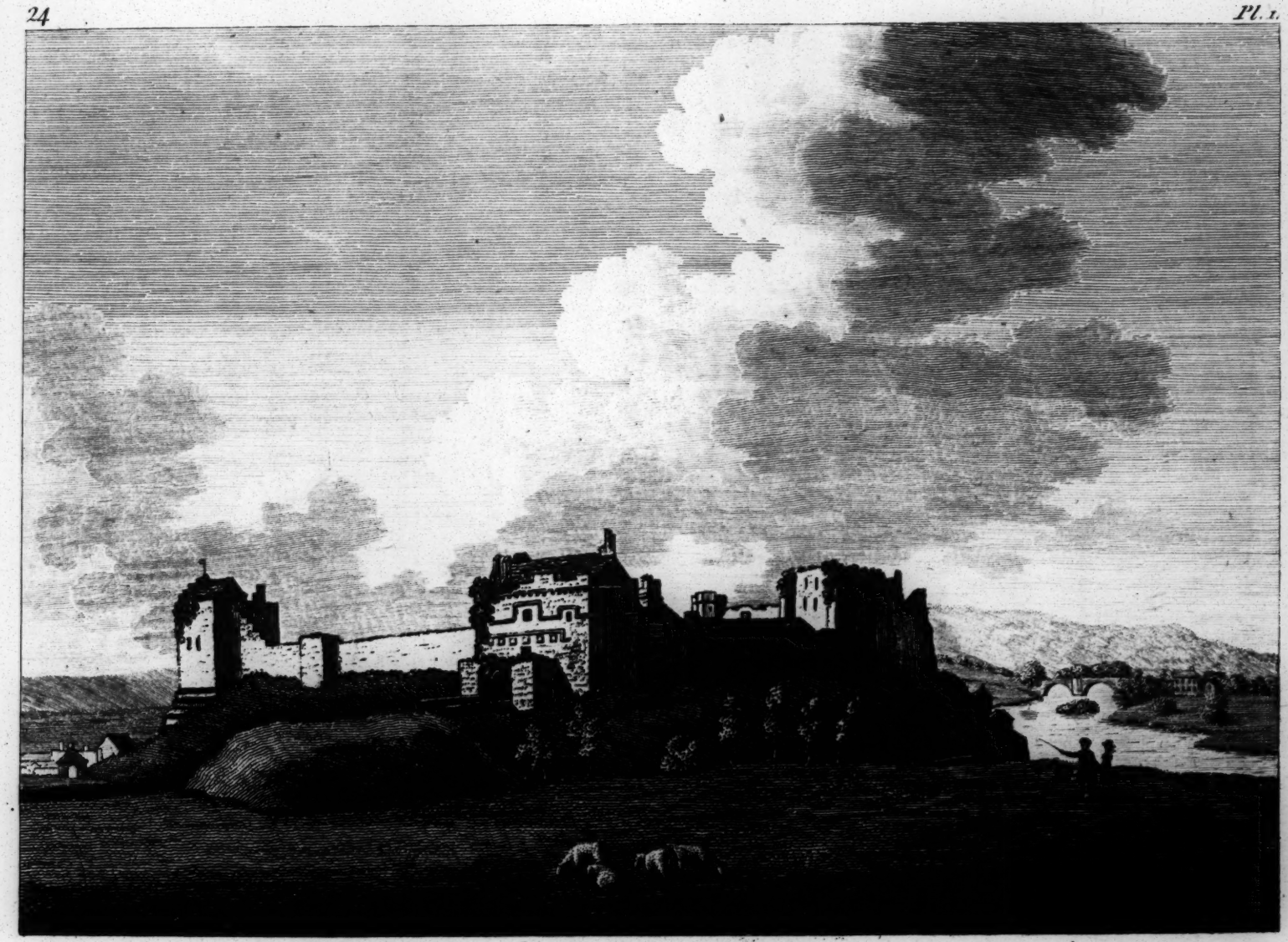
Item, the castle gates are in decay, and needful to be made new.

Item, there is not in the said castle any storehouse meet for the ordnance and munition; so as the same lieth in the town very dangerously for any sudden enterprize.

* Avantmur, the parapet.

Item,

BRITISH MUSEUM 12 JUL 73



COCKERMOUTH CASTLE.

Publd 21 Decr 1785 by S. Hooper.

Item, there is decayed the glass of two great windows; the one in the great chamber, and the other in the hall of the said castle.

The ordnance, artillery, and munition in the castle at that time were, sagers 2, fawcons 4, all dismounted: fawconets 2, whereof one not good; one little pot-gun of brass: demi-bombarders 2: bases double and single 12, lacking furniture: half staggs 39, not serviceable: bows of yew, none: arrows, 6 score sheafs, in decay: moris-pikes 30, not good: sager shot of iron 58, sager shot of lead 70.

This view, which shews the N. E. aspect, was drawn anno 1774.

COCKERMOUTH CASTLE. (PLATE I.)

THIS was the baronial castle of the honour of Cockermouth, built, as is supposed, soon after the conquest, by William de Meschines, who possessed that honour by gift of his brother Ranulph, earl of Cumberland, to whom the conqueror gave all that part of Cumberland, called Copeland, lying between the Dudden and the Darwent. From the said William, this honour, for want of heirs male, came to Gilbert Pipard; and from him, for the like cause, to Richard de Lucy; whose daughter and co-heiress marrying Thomas de Moulton, had issue a son Anthony, who took upon him the name of Lucy; and to him, as appears in Madox's Baronia, this honour, together with the manor of Pappe castle, were granted by Edward III. in the second year of his reign. This Anthony dying without issue, his estates devolved to his sister Maud, who first married Gilbert de Umfraville, and afterwards Henry de Percy, earl of Northumberland. She did, by a fine levied in the Octaves of St. John Baptist, in the reign of King Richard II. A. D. 1384, settle the castle and honour of Cockermouth, with a large proportion of her inheritance, upon her husband and his heirs male, with diverse remainders to the family of the Percys, upon condition that they should always bear the arms of Lucy, which are gules, three luces or pikes, hauriant, argent, in all shields, banners, ensigns, and coats of arms whatsoever, quarterly, with their own.

In this family it continued till Joceline, the last earl, leaving only a daughter, she carried it in marriage to Charles Seymour, duke of Somerset; and by the death of Algernon (the last duke) without heirs male, it descended, together with the title of earl of Egremont, to Sir Charles Windham, bart. whose son is the present proprietor.

Other accounts attribute the building of this castle to Waldof, first lord of Allerdale, son of Gospatrick, earl of Northumberland, cotemporary with William the Conqueror. Waldof, it is said, resided first at Pappe castle, in this neighbourhood; which he afterwards demolished, and with the materials erected this edifice. This castle stands on the west side of the Coker, on a mount, seemingly artificial, near the Darwent. The dimensions of the walls, which form nearly a square, are computed about six hundred yards in compass; they are flanked by several square towers. The entrance is on the east side over a bridge. Over the outer gate are five shields of arms; four of them are said to be those of the Moultons, Umfravilles, Lucys, and Percys. In this gate are some habitable rooms, wherein the auditor holds a court twice every year.

Within the walls are two courts: in the first are some small modern tenements inhabited by a person who takes care of the castle. From this court through a gate, is the entrance into the second. On each side of this gate are two deep dungeons, each capable of holding fifty persons; they are vaulted at the top, and have only a small opening in order to admit the prisoners, who either descended by a ladder, or were lowered down with ropes. On the outside of the gate, just even with the ground, are two narrow slits; one on each side, sloping inwards. Down these were thrown the provisions allotted for the wretched beings confined there, who had no other light, or air, but what was admitted through these chinks.

Within the second court stood the mansion, now in ruins. The kitchen, as it is called, makes a picturesque appearance; it has one of those monstrous chimneys, so common in old mansions, which serve to give an idea of the ancient hospitality. Under it is a groined vault, said to have been the chapel, supported near the middle by a large polygonal column, and lighted by ony one window.

During

BRITISH
12 JUN 73
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LANERCOST PRIORY CUMBERLAND.

Sparrow Sc.

Published Nov.r 7, 1783, by S. Hooper.


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DEPOSITO LEGAL



Cockermouth Castle. Pl. 2.

Published Aug.st 1.1783. by S. Hooper.

During the civil wars it was garrisoned, anno 1648, for the king; and being besieged and taken, was burned, and never since repaired; although the present earl has caused the outer walls to be new pointed, and the rubbish to be removed from the inner court. This castle, Burne says, was kept in repair till the year 1648, when it was made a garrison for the king. This view, which represents the north-east aspect, was drawn anno 1774.

(PLATE II.)

The former view exhibited the outside of this castle; this shews the inside of its inner court, viewed nearly in the contrary direction. The great room called the kitchen is here very perspicuous. Towards the right hand, and near its top, appear the remains of a stair-case. The small door near the middle of the plate, with an inner arch appearing just above the wall, is that which leads to the stair-case, descending into the chapel. Under the largest of the two pointed arches, towards the right hand, lies the passage to and from the outer court.

This view was drawn anno 1774.

LANERCOST PRIORY. (PLATE I.)

THIS was a priory of canons regular of the order of St. Augustine, dedicated to the honour of God and St. Mary Magdalene. It was founded by Robert, son of Hubert de Vallibus, lord of Gillesland. The church was dedicated by Bernard, bishop of Carlisle, anno 1169.

Robert de Vallibus, the founder, by his charter granted to these canons diverse valuable parcels of land, whose boundaries are therein described; also the church of Walton, with the chapel of Treverman, the churches of Erchinton, of Branton, Karlaton and Farlam, with all their appurtenances and dependencies.

He likewise gave the pasturage for thirty cows, and twenty sows, in his forest of Walton; with all the bark of the timber-trees, and the

the dry wood in the forests of his barony; and free passage for themselves and servants through his estates to their different churches and houses, &c. to Brampton, Walton, Traversman, Warboleman, and Roswrageth, Danton, and Brenkibeth.

He moreover bestowed on them certain lands in his wood at Brampton, for the building of a barn to collect their tythes: he also permitted them to make themselves a fish-pond any where within his demesnes, provided that it did not injure his mill. All these, with many other donations, were confirmed by the charter of King Richard I.

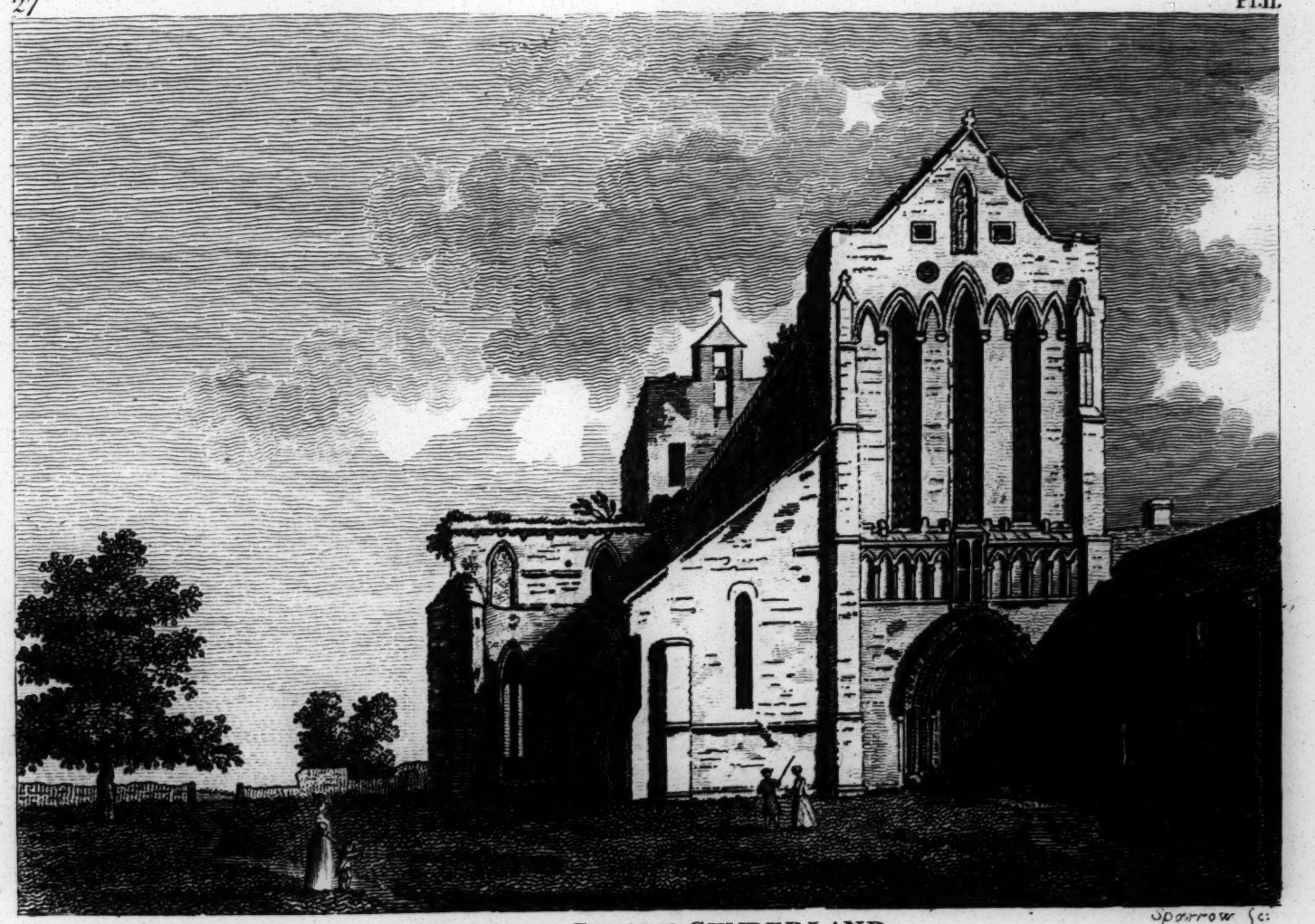
Anno 1315 Henry de Burgh, prior of this house, dying, Robert de Meburn was elected in his stead. The MS. chronicle of Lanercost preserved in the British Museum reports that this Henry de Burgh was a famous poet.

In 1337, on the death of prior William de Southayke, the convent chose John de Bowethby for his successor.

In the year 1354 John de Bothcester having on account of his age and infirmities resigned the office of prior, when Thomas de Hextildesham was chosen in his place, to whom the bishop of Carlisle, besides administering the usual oath of canonical obedience, likewise obliged him by solemn promise not to frequent publick huntings, nor to keep so large a pack of hounds as he had formerly done, he also directed that decent lodging in the priory, and a competent allowance of the necessaries and conveniences of life should be made for the former prior, which the convent by an unanimous subscription bound themselves to perform.

On the death of Thomas de Hextildesham great dissensions arose respecting the election of a successor, insomuch that the bishop thought it necessary to send letters requisitory, commanding them, under pain of the greater excommunication, during the vacancy of the prior, to pay canonical obedience to the sub-prior, who with his party declared themselves for Richard de Rydal, a canon regular of St. Mary's of Carlisle, whilst another faction insisted on having duly chosen John de Nonyneton a canon of their own house. The bishop was appealed to, who gave sentence in favour of John de Rydal. Anno 1360

BRITISH
12 JU 73
MUSEUM



Sparrow Sc:

LANERCOST PRIORY, CUMBERLAND.

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1360, John de Rydal absenting himself from his priory, the bishop constituted Martin de Brampton guardian during his absence; which is the last account of the priory to be found in the register of the Bishop of Carlisle.

Robert de Vallibus, dying without issue, was succeeded by his brother Ralph, whose great-grand-daughter Maud, marrying Thomas de Multon, carried the barony into that family. Their grand-daughter and heiress Margaret in like manner conveyed it to the family of the Dacres.

After the dissolution, King Henry granted this priory to Thomas Dacre of Lanercost, Esq. commonly called Bastard Dacre, (as being the illegitimate son of Thomas Lord Dacre of the north) to him and his heirs male for ever, reserving the church and church-yard with some buildings for the residence of the vicar. To this grant King Edward VI. afterwards added the rectories and advowsons formerly belonging to the monks, to him and his heirs in general.

The priory continued in the Dacre family for several descents, till James Dacre dying without male issue, it reverted to the crown, and was, anno 1777, held on lease by Frederic Earl of Carlisle.

"The conventual church (says Burn) has been large and somewhat magnificent; a small part of it is now only used by the parishioner, the rest in ruins: having been wholly appropriated to the priory, it remains only a perpetual curacy, and was certified to the Governors of Queen Anne's bounty at 14*l.* 5*s.* and hath since received an allotment of 200*l.* from the said bounty. The Earl of Carlisle is patron (probably by purchase from the Dacres.)"

At the suppression, the annual revenues of this house were estimated at 77*l.* 7*s.* 11*d.* Dugdale; 79*l.* 19*s.* Speed; at which time, here were a prior and seven canons. This view, which represents the north aspect of the priory church, was drawn anno 1774.

(PLATE II.)

This priory is situated in a romantic valley, a small distance

north of the river Irthing, and a little to the southward of the Picts wall. Its remains consist of the priory church, and some few of the offices of the monastery, now fitted up for a farm-house.

The chancel is in ruins, where, amidst shrubs, brambles, and nettles, appear several very elegant tombs of the Dacre family, but much damaged by the weather: the way into one of the vaults beneath is laid so open, that the stairs leading down are visible. Here are two stories or series of arches, the under ones circular, supported by columns of great thickness, some cylindrical, and some polygonal.

About the ruined parts of this building many ash-trees have taken root, and flourish among the disjointed stones, affording a very picturesque appearance. The nave is in good repair, and serves for the parish church: it has two side aisles, divided by pointed arches of a very considerable span.

On a stone on the inside of the east wall is the following inscription:

" Robertus de Vallibus filius Huberti Domini de Gisland
Fundator Prioratus de Lanercost, A.D. 1116. Ædergaini Uxor ejus sine prole.
Reverendus G. Story hujus Ec. Pastor
Grato animo hunc lapidem posuit 1761.

Which may be thus translated: " Robert de Vallibus, the son of Hubert, Lord of Gisland, founder of the priory of Lanercost, A.D. 1116. Ædergane his wife had no children.

" The Rev. G. Story, A. M. minister of this church, out of gratitude placed this stone 1761." According to this date, the monastery was founded fifty-three years before the dedication of the church. At the east window, under a coat armorial of three cockle-shells, are the following lines:

" Mille & quingentos ad quinquaginta novemque
Adjice; & hoc anno condidit istud opus
Thomas Daker, Eques, sedem qui primus in istam
Venerat, extincta religione loci.
Hoc Edvardus ei dederat, devoverat ante
Henricus longæ premia militiæ."

" To

" To one thousand and five hundred, add fifty and nine, and in that year Thomas Daker, Esq. built this work. He was the first who came to this seat after the dissolution of the priory. It was given him by Edward, though before promised by Henry, as a reward for his long military services."

Probably the work here alluded to was the window whereon the inscription is placed; which, in the outrageous zeal of the times, might have been demolished at the surrender. The church itself is apparently too ancient to be meant.

The west front of this building was neatly finished, and in a niche near the top is an elegant female figure. A small distance west of the church, in what was the church-yard wall, is the remains of a handsome gate, whose arch is a segment of a large circle. About a mile south-eastward, on an eminence, stands Naworth Castle, which is plainly seen from hence. This was formerly also the property of the Dacre family.

This monastery at present belongs to the Earl of Carlisle, into whose family it came by a marriage with the sister and co-heir of the last Lord Dacre.

It is by some related, that this priory was founded as an expiation for the death of one Giles Bueth, who, pretending to have a right to the Barony of Gillisland, was slain by Robert de Vallibus, or Hubert his father. But as no such motive is mentioned or hinted at in the charter of foundation, probably it is a groundless story.

In the year 1306, as appears in Leland's Collectanea, King Edward the First remained here some time, whilst he sent his Justices to Berwick, who there, according to Stowe, tried hundreds and thousands of breakers of the peace and conspirators, many of whom were hanged; " and the Countesse of Bowen was closed in a cage, whose breadth, length, height and depth, was eight foote, and hanged over the walls of Berwike. This view, which represents the west aspect of the priory church, was drawn anno 1774.

NAWORTH CASTLE. (PLATE I.)

THIS castle is still intire and inhabited; for the annexed account of it and its furniture, I am indebted to Thomas Pennant, Esq. who permitted me to transcribe it from his memorandums. A visit I made to it in August, 1774, enables me to bear testimony to the faithfulness of the description which here follows in his own words:

"Two miles from Brampton, visit Naworth Castle, once belonging to the Dacres, afterwards the property (I think by marriage) of William Lord Howard, commonly known by the name of Bauld Willey.

"It is a large pile, square, and built about a court. In the south side is a gateway, with the arms of the Dacres; over the door those of the Howards.

"On the north, it impends over the river Ithing; at a great height; the banks shagged with wood. The whole house is a true specimen of ancient inconvenience, of magnificence and littleness; the rooms numerous, accessible by sixteen stair-cases, with most frequent and sudden ascents and descents into the bargain.

"The great hall is twenty-five paces long, by nine and a half broad; of a good height; has a gallery at one end, adorned with four vast crests carved in wood, viz. a griffin and dolphin, with the scollops; an unicorn, and an ox with a coronet round his neck.

"In front is a figure in wood of an armed man; two others, perhaps vassals, in short jackets and caps; a pouch pendant behind, and the mutilated remains of Priapus to each; one has wooden shoes. These seem the ludibrium aulæ in those gross days.

"The top and upper end of the room is painted in squares, to the number of one hundred and seven, representing the Saxon kings and heroes. The chimney here is five yards and a half broad. Within this is another apartment, hung with old tapestry, a head of Anne of Cleeves; on one side of her a small picture of a lady full length, &c. and many others.

A



NAWORTH CASTLE, CUMBERLAND.

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BRITISH
12JU73
MUSEUM

A long narrow gallery.

Lord William Howard's bed-room, arms, and motto, over the chimney; his library, a small room in a very secret place, high up in one of the towers, well secured by doors and narrow stair-case; not a book has been added since his days, i. e. since those of Queen Elizabeth. In it is a vast case, three feet high, which opens into three leaves, having six great pages pasted in, being an account of St. Joseph of Arimathea, and his twelve disciples, who founded Glastonbury; and at the end, a long history of saints, with the number of years or days for which each could grant indulgences.

The roof is coarsely carved; the windows are high, and are to be ascended by three stone steps; such was the caution of the times. It is said, Lord William was very studious, and wrote much; that once, when he was thus employed, a servant came to tell him that a prisoner was then just brought in, and desired to know what should be done with him: Lord William, vexed at being disturbed, answered peevishly, Hang him. When he finished his study, he called and ordered the man to be brought before him for examination; but found that his orders had been literally obeyed. He was a very severe, but most useful man, at that time in this lawless place. His dungeon instills horror; it consists of four dark apartments, three below and one above, up a long stair-case, all well-secured; in the uppermost is one ring, to which criminals were chained, and the marks where many more have been.

Close by the library is an an ancient oratory, most richly ornamented on the sides of the ceiling with coats of arms and carvings in wood, painted and gilt. On one side is a good painting on wood, in the stile of Lucus Van Leyden: it represents the Flagellation of our Saviour, his Crucifixion and Resurrection. Here are also various sculptures in white marble; an abbess with a sword in her hand waiting on a king who is stabbing himself; a monk with a king's head in his hand, and several others. This

place is well secured; for here Lord William enjoyed his religion in privacy.

The chapel is below stairs; the top and part of the sides are painted in panels like the hall; and on one side are the crests of arms and pedigree of the Howards, from Fulcho to 1623 and 1644. Under a great sprawling figure of an old man, with a branch rising from him on the ceiling, is written Pictor, MDXII. On the great window, in glass, are represented a knight and a lady kneeling; on their mantles pictured these arms, three escallops and chequers."

(PLATE II.)

TRADITION says this castle was built by the Dacres, but by which of them is not ascertained. One of them, Robert de Dacre, from a quotation in Madox's History of the Exchequer, seems to have been sheriff of Cumberland, 39 Henry III. and another, Ranulph de Dacre, 14th of Edward I. constable of the tower.

The first mention of this castle is in the reign of Edward II. when in the 18th of that reign, it appears from Madox's Baronia, that William de Dacre, son and heir of Hugh de Dacre, who was brother and heir of Ranulph de Dacre, held it, with the manor of Irchington, to which it belonged; also the manors of Burgh, near Sandes, Lasingby and Farlham, and other lands, by the service of one entire baronia, and of doing homage and fealty to the king, and of yielding to him for cornage, at his exchequer at Carlisle yearly, at the feast of the Assumption of St. Mary, 51*s*. 8*d*. By what feoffment, old or new, says Madox, does not appear; neither in what king's reign Ranulph de Dacre, ancestor of William here named, was feoffed; but it is plain some ancestor, under whom Ranulph claimed, was enfeoft to hold by baronia.

It continued in the family of the Dacres till the year 1569, when on the 17th of May, according to Stowe, " George Lord Dacre



NAWORTH CASTLE, CUMBERLAND.

Published 10 Nov.r 1783 by S. Hooper.

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Dacre of Graystoke, sonne and heir of Thomas Lord Dacre, being a child in yeeres, and then ward to Thomas Lord Howard, duke of Norfolk, was by a great mischaunce slayne at Thetford, in the house of Sir Richard Falmenstone, Knt. by meane of a vauting horse of wood standing within the same house; upon which horse, as he meant to have vauted, and the pinnes at the feet being not made sure, the horse fell upon him, and bruised the brains out of his head."

In the January following, Leonard Dacre, Esq. of Horsley, in the county of York, second son to Lord William Dacre of Gisland, being dissatisfied with a legal decision, by which his nieces were adjudged to succeed to the estate of their brother the Lord Dacre, whose tragical death was just here related; he entered into a rebellion, with design to carry off the Queen of Scots; but being disappointed by her removal to Coventry, and having the command of three thousand men, which he had been entrusted to raise for the queen's service, he seized several castles, among which were those of Greystock and Naworth; but being attacked and defeated by Lord Hunsdon at the head of the garrison of Berwick, he fled to Flanders, where he died.

This castle next came into the possession of Lord William Howard, the third son of Thomas duke of Norfolk, in right of his wife Elizabeth, sister of George, the last Lord Dacre before mentioned. In 1607, when Camden visited it, it was under repair; and Bishop Gibson says, it was again repaired, and made fit for the reception of a family, by the Right Honourable Charles Howard, great great grandson to the Lord William Howard before mentioned.

I shall here transcribe another description of this castle and furniture, sent me by a gentleman who viewed it anno 1732, which, though it repeats many things mentioned in the former account, yet it hath also divers circumstances worthy observation, not there taken notice of.

"This is an ancient stone building: the front long, with a square tower at each angle; then you enter a court. In the noble hall,

hall, the pictures of the Anglo-Saxon Kings, &c. painted on wooden square panels, make the ceiling and part of the wainscot at the further end of the room; they were brought from Kirk-Oswald castle when that was demolished.

The chapel has a ceiling and part of its wainscot of the same kind, being paintings of patriarchs, Jewish kings, &c. Here is also painted a genealogy of the family from Fulcho, with their arms. It has a floor of plaister of Paris, as have some other of the rooms. Some of the apartments are very large and spacious; the ceiling of one consists of small square panels of wood, black and white interchangeably; the white has two different carvings, the black is unwrought. The very little popish chapel is above stairs; the inside work curiously carved and gilt; here are some small figures of the passion, &c. Joining to this chapel is the library, which has a good wooden roof; the books are old; there are not above one or two of the manuscripts here now. Vide Cat. Librorum MS. Angl. & Hib. tom. 2d, p. 14, &c. The Earl of Carlisle never lives here, but at Castle-Howard in Yorkshire.

In the garden walls are stones with Roman inscriptions, collected probably from the Picts wall; a general account of these stones is given in " Horsley's Britannia Romana."

Camden, who also mentions these stones, gives the following copy of some of the inscriptions; one is,

IVL. AVG. DVO. MSILV. .VM.

On another,

.I.O.M....II.AEL.DAC..C.P...EST
VRELIVS. FA. L. S. TRIB. PET. VO. COS.

On a third,

LEG. II. AVG.

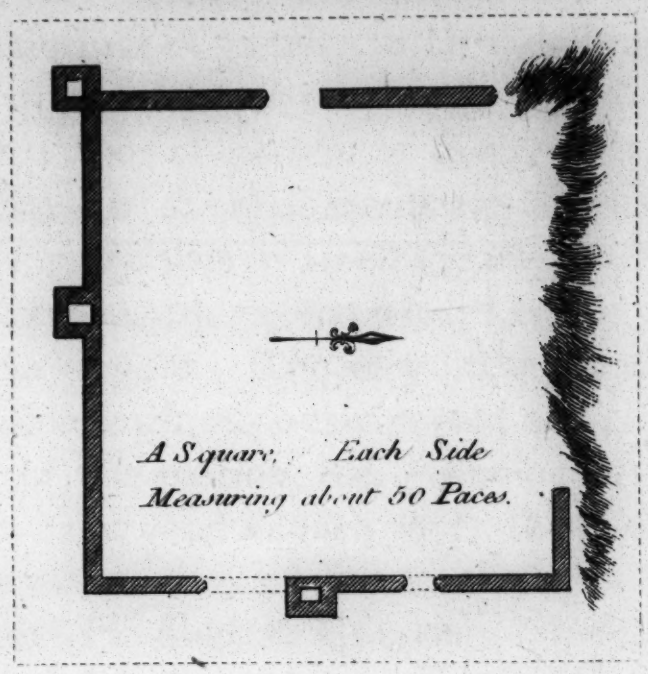
On a fourth,

COH.J.AEL. DAC. CORD.. ALEC. PER....

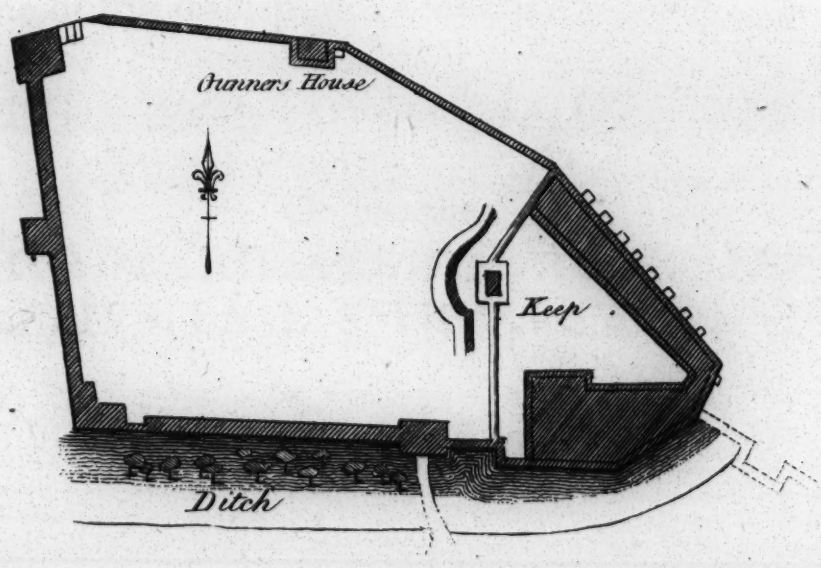
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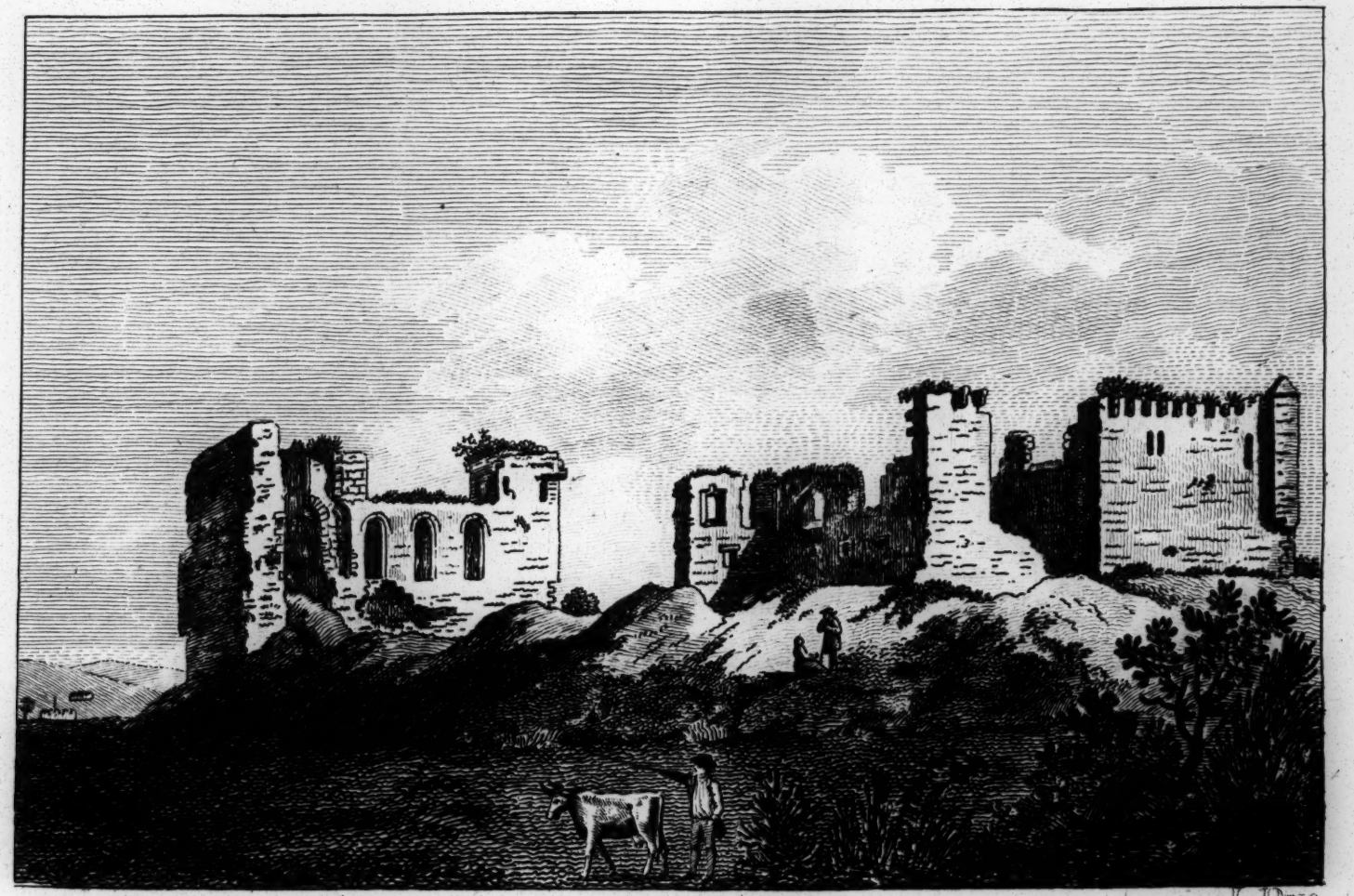
Penrith Castle Cumberland



Carlisle Castle



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Penrith Caſtle, Cumberland.

Pub. 3 April 1781 by S. Hooper

I. Pye.

These stones were by the late earl of Carlisle given to Sir Thomas Robinson, who married his sister, and were by him removed to his museum at Rooksby.

Burne says that this castle was enlarged and improved out of the ruins of Irthington and Kirk Oswald; and adds, "Dr. Todd says, there were brought from Kirk Oswald, and put up on the roof or wooden cieling of the great hall here, the heads of all the Kings of England from Brute to Henry VI. elegantly painted in good and lasting colours." This view, which represents the entrance into the castle, was drawn anno 1772.

PENRITH CASTLE.

This castle stands near the west end of the town: both its builder and the time of its construction are unknown. Leland, who mentions it in his Itinerary, calls it "A strong castel of the kinges;" an appellation it does not from its remains appear to have deserved.

Camden also speaks of it, but neither mentions the date of its erection, nor its founder: he, indeed, says it was repaired in Henry the Sixth's time, out of the ruins of Maburg. This is by his last editor justly deemed a mistake, and contradicted in a marginal note.

It is built of a coarse reddish stone, and was nearly square, each side measuring about one hundred and twenty-five feet. All but a small fragment of the north wall is tumbled down. There seems to have been a small bastion-like projection on the south-west angle, but by much too trifling to serve for a defence. The south-east and north-east angles have no such addition; and whether or not there was one on the north-west cannot be discovered, that angle being entirely demolished.

In the middle of each face was a small projection like a buttress or turret, and round the top of the walls run brackets, such as usually support machicolations; but these seem to have been intended rather for shew than use. Neither the height nor thickness of the walls

are extraordinary; the former no where exceeding thirty, nor the latter five feet.

This building seems to owe its present ruinous state to more violent causes than the slow depredations of time and weather: yet history does not mention it as the scene of any great military atchievement; neither was its form destitute of flanks, by any means calculated to sustain a siege; perhaps the value of its materials may have conduced to its destruction; for such a propensity have our farmers to destroy an ancient monument, that they will bestow more labour to disjoint a few stones to mend their buildings, than would earn them money enough to purchase three times the quantity.

This castle, it is said, continued in the crown till the reign of King William III. when that prince granted it, together with the honour of Penrith, to William Bentinck, earl of Portland, ancestor to the present duke of Portland.

In a pleasing description of this part of the country, entitled, "An Excursion to the Lakes," there is the following agreeable portrait of this castle.

"We viewed the ruins of Penrith castle: it is said to have arose on the foundations of a Roman fortress, the traces of which are not now to be discovered.—The buildings form a square, and are situate on a rising ground surrounded with a ditch. The scite towards the town is much more elevated than on any of the other quarters: this front consists of the remains of an angular tower to the east, which now stands separated from the rest by the falling of the walls: the centre, which projects a little from the plain of the front, is hastening to decay, presenting to the eye broken chambers, passages, and stairs.—This part of the building is still connected with the western angular tower, an open hanging gallery forming the communication.—Below this gallery a large opening is made by the falling of the building, forming a rude arch, through which, and the broken walls to the east, the interior parts of the ruin are perceived in a picturesque manner.—Nothing remains within but part of a stone arched vault, which, by its similitude to places of the like nature, which we had formerly seen, we conceived to have been the prison."

Burne, in his History of Cumberland, does not suppose this castle to have been built before the reign of Henry III. His description of it, and his reasons for this supposition, are as follows:

"On the west side of the town stands the castle of square stone, inclosed within a ditch, which by its largeness and ruins seems to have been a place of some strength and consideration. But it seems not to have been very ancient; for when the two hundred librates of land (as is aforesaid) of which Penrith was part, were given to the King of Scots, there was a special reservation, that those lands should not be where there were any castles. King Richard III. when he was duke of Gloucester, that he might be at hand to oppose the Scots, and keep the country in obedience, which was generally of the Lancastrian interest, resided in this castle for some time, and enlarged and strengthened it with towers and other works.

The stones for that purpose, it is said, he had from an old ruin, supposed to have been a place of Druid worship at Mayburgh, about a mile distant, on the south side of the river Eamont. In the civil wars in the time of King Charles I. this fabrick was totally ruined, and all the lead and timber sold for the use of the commonwealth."

This view, which represents the north-west aspect, was drawn anno 1774.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

T. Bensley, Printer,
Bolt-court, Fleet-street, London.

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